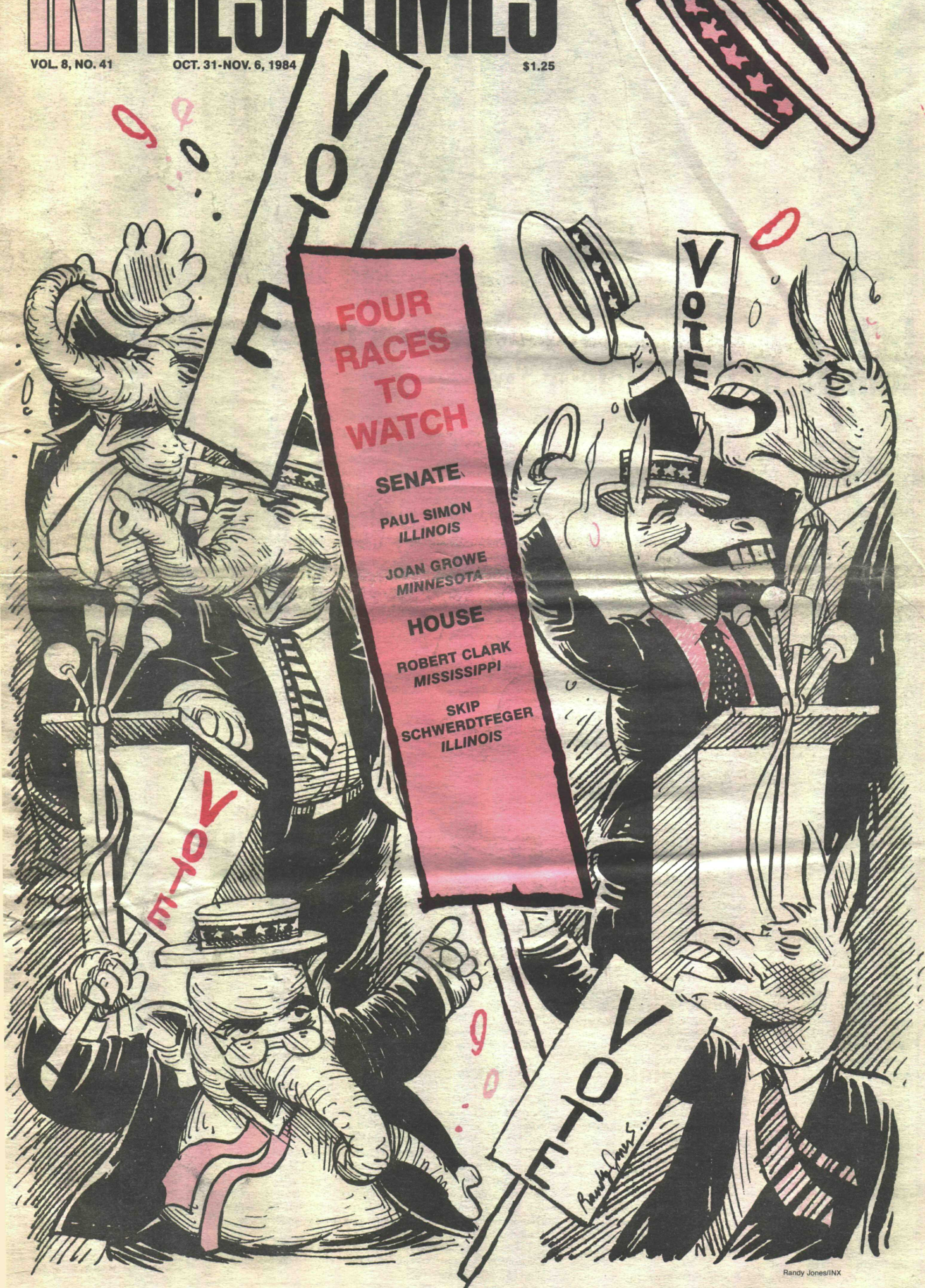


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When New Republic editor Morton Kondracke asked Mondale what is to be frozen, Mondale sidestepped the question.

Behind Mondale and Ferraro's fuzzy stands on the nuclear freeze

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

In the October 21 debate between President Ronald Reagan and former Vice President Walter Mondale, Reagan displayed an ignorance of important details in almost every area he touched—from clandestine warfare in Nicaragua to demonstration shots in space. But Mondale was surprisingly fuzzy on the nuclear freeze.

Mondale's lame responses to questions about whether the freeze was verifiable suggested that he either didn't really understand it or didn't really support it.

When NBC newsman Marvin Kalb asked Mondale "which specific weapons systems could be subject to a mutual and verifiable freeze and which could not," Mondale did not answer the question. Instead he asserted, "I would not agree to any negotiation or any agreement that involves conduct on the part of the Soviet Union that we couldn't verify every day."

New Republic editor Morton Kondracke picked up on Mondale's failure to answer Kalb's question. Claiming that it was impossible to verify a production freeze and difficult to verify a freeze on warheads, Kondracke asked, "Now in view of that, what is to be frozen?"

Mondale then explained that warheads can be counted by the same rules employed in SALT I and II (a certain maximum number are assigned to each delivery vehicle), but he sidestepped the question of a production freeze, simply declaring that he would "not agree to any production-restrictions agreement, unless we have the ability to verify those agreements."

To Kondracke's and Kalb's questions insinuating that the nuclear freeze was a set without any members, Mondale, an avowed freeze supporter, refused—or was unable—to specify any weapons systems that could be included in the freeze. And he could not or would not explain how a freeze on the production of weapons could be verified.

Mondale's running mate, Rep. Geraldine Ferraro, betrayed even less knowledge of the freeze in her October 10 debate with Vice President George Bush and in her October 17 interview with Ted Koppel on ABC's *Nightline*. When asked about the freeze's verifiability in the debate, Ferraro ignored the question entirely.

When Koppel asked her how a freeze could be verified, she said that she could not discuss the means of verification because they were classified secrets. "You know, Ted, as well as I, that those things are not—most of them are classified...so you and I cannot talk about them on television." When Koppel kept pressing Ferraro about the scope of the freeze, she finally threw up her hands and said, "Well, it's not going to stop everything, Ted."

Mondale's and Ferraro's comments on the freeze have caused some consternation among its supporters. Former CIA official Arthur Macy Cox, the author of *Russian Roulette*, commented on Mondale's performance: "He went pretty far in putting himself in a corner." Richard Healey, the director of the Coalition for a New Military and Foreign Policy, said of Mondale, "We don't know why he backed off so far. He just doesn't want to be seen as a full supporter of the freeze. He thinks he's got to look tough."

Two views.

Freeze supporters are of two distinct, but not entirely opposed, views on the question of verifiability. One school of thought, represented by former CIA official Herbert Scoville, argues that within the common diplomatic understanding of verification, the freeze is entirely verifiable.

Scoville contends that the freeze is probably easier to verify than

Reagan's START proposal, which sets limits on warhead and delivery vehicles, but does not freeze their production or deployment. "When you stop something completely, it's much easier to tell whether violations have occurred," he says.

Scoville concedes that a freeze on production would be harder to verify than a freeze on deployment and testing, but he insists that it is not impossible to do so. "We know where nuclear weapons are being produced," he says. "If production were frozen, we could tell whether a plant were still in operation. And it would be hard for the Soviets to build a new plant without our detecting it."

(In the same vein, David Johnson, the research director of the Center for Defense Information (CDI), points out that if a new weapon were produced, it would have to be tested. And while it may be difficult to detect cheating in production, it is not difficult to detect new tests.)

The other school, represented by Cox, argues that verifiability should not be the central criterion of an arms control agreement. "If you're going to stress verifiability, then any kind of arms control agreement becomes impossible," he says.

Cox is less sanguine than other freeze proponents about the verifiability of a production freeze. "When Randy Forsberg was first talking about the freeze, I stressed to her that production verification is not something you can guarantee 100 percent," he says. But he argues that arms control agreements must be based on "mutual self-interest" rather than an impossible ideal of

THE STORY INSIDE

verification. "We have to weigh whether it is more in our interest to take the slight risk involved in the freeze than to take the much greater risk of allowing the arms race to continue."

CDI's David Johnson thinks that the conditions for such an agreement exist. "I think the Soviet government is very committed to taking major steps to control nuclear weapons. If the U.S. wants to participate, I think they would find that the Soviets would go very far," he says.

While highly critical of Mondale's response during the debate, Scoville gives him the benefit of a doubt. "He may have been worried about how technical to be," he says. But Healey and Cox believe that his response represented a deliberate attempt to distance himself from the freeze movement.

Cox charges that Mondale is getting bad advice from Democratic hardliners who believe that he must appear strong and that to do so he must adopt the vocabulary and program of the military hawks. Cox refuses to name names, but it is widely known that in the last months Mondale has turned to neoconservative Democrats like Max Kampelman, a Reagan appointee to the Madrid talks, for foreign policy advice.

These advisors' wisdom has been reflected in a range of positions Mondale has taken—from the freeze to his proposal that the U.S. "quarantine" Nicaragua.

By David Moberg

GREENVILLE, MISS.

HERE IN THE FABLED DELTA country, where the white-tufted cotton fields stretch almost endlessly across the flat, rich soil, it is easy to see at once the signs of the old South: large, elaborate mansions of white landowners, tiny shacks for poor blacks crowded together on minimal lots of land.

The image is not misleading: in most of these counties along the Mississippi River in the northwest part of the state, the leading source of income is not wages but transfer payments and the second ranked source is often interest, dividends and other unearned income. On a map of the South showing concentrations of either black population or poverty, these counties stand out conspicuously.

There are also slightly less obvious signs of the old segregation, like the popular, clearly public Crystal Club restaurant in Greenwood with its fiction of club member cards on the door. "All the public eats here, except the colored," the waitress explains matter-of-factly, "so I guess it's still private."

There is a new Delta that is not so visible. It is not the much-publicized new South of moderate white politicians and industrialists in cities like Atlanta, although Greenville itself always had some of that image. Rather it is the further maturing of the civil rights movement, the continuation of the hard-won elections of mayor, supervisor and alderman in so many small towns and poor counties in the region, the fruit of countless lawsuits attempting to enforce the Voting Rights Act. This November, for the first time since Reconstruction, a black may be sent to Congress from the deep South.

Robert Clark, a former teacher and anti-poverty worker from impoverished, rural Holmes County, made history once before in 1967 by becoming the first black elected to the Mississippi legislature since Reconstruction. Now he is in a rematch of the 1982 race that he lost by 2,914 votes out of 145,986 cast to ultra-conservative Republican Webb Franklin, who was put into office by traditionally Democratic whites deserting the party's black nominee.

Race was quietly but clearly a dominant factor in the 1982 race as an estimated 15 percent of whites voted for Clark and 6 percent of blacks voted for Franklin, whose campaign slogan was "he's one of us." Although Franklin is bidding much more for black votes this time, he is also making sure that voters are aware of what he and Clark look like. Ads and an insert designed for the many small-town newspapers says "the choice is yours" over pictures of both Franklin and Clark. It is certainly not the usual practice for candidates to distribute photographs of their opponents in their literature.

Clark, with the respect of most blacks and the occasional dismay of a few who would strike a more militant tone, resolutely refuses to appeal in terms of race. Last week more than 350 people, all but a handful of them black, packed St. Peter's church in Greenville for a rally and catfish fry. After two hours of testimonials and song, most of them fervent hymns, Clark took the lectern. A large, friendly man who is often reserved and quiet in private, with sudden bursts of anger or amusement, Clark is a forceful speaker with moments of homespun eloquence. It is time for a revival, he told the crowd, because "we are going against an angry force—a force that is just as vicious as that angry Red Sea."

"When we say, 'we,'" he explained, "we are not talking about 'we' in terms of racial connotations. (Amen from the audience.) We are talking about 'we' that is a spirit and the ones of us who believe it is time to put racial differences and ethnic differences aside now, once and for all. When we say 'we,' we are talking about those Mississippians and Americans that share a dream with those individuals who



Robert Clark resolutely refuses to appeal to voters in terms of race.

Clark in close race in Mississippi

started that march to freedom more than 200 years ago and gave their lives and riches and founded a nation that was based on ideals of personal liberty, and to establish a rule of justice. We are talking about reviving the American spirit. And anybody who shares that dream and hope here in Mississippi in the second Congressional district, that is the 'we' we are talking about."

A close race.

Is that "we" big enough to elect Clark? Both sides think the race will again be very close and ultimately will hinge on who can get out the vote on election day. Franklin has some advantages. He is the incumbent, and his campaign is counting that it counts more than party to seniority-conscious voters. He has money. He will spend \$425,000 to Clark's \$250,000. Franklin got \$72,000 from Republican

CAMPAIGN

sources and heavy contributions from oil, agriculture, medical and other business political action committees, while Clark got \$25,000 from the Democratic Party (mainly in-kind contribution) and significant labor financing. Franklin also has the edge with television and radio. He had ads running last spring and continuously since August, and Clark started his TV ads two weeks before the election with less than half Franklin's budget.

Republicans also registered more than 5,000 new voters after carefully selecting likely Franklin supporters and have made special mailings. One was a recent letter to social security recipients about his support for the recent cost-of-living increase, even though he voted for social security cuts and against the bipartisan bailout, contrary to campaign literature that claims he "consistently voted for every (underlined) piece of legislation aimed at protecting social security."

Clark has the advantage of a very conservative record to attack. Franklin was rated zero by Americans for Democratic Action, and claims a 96 percent support for the conservative coalition. *The National Journal's* analysis showed he was more liberal than only 2 percent of the House on social and foreign policy issues (15 percent on economic issues). He voted repeatedly against education bills (the National Education Association gave him a zero rating), against job training and the Community Renewal Employment Act, and against aid for housing, the unemployed, nutrition and school lunches, and environmental clean-up. He is a stalwart supporter of military spending.

And he voted against the Martin Luther King federal holiday.

White opposition to government spending is deeply entrenched, since it is identified with handouts to blacks who don't work, and Reagan is vastly popular among whites in this region. But Franklin must realize that his voting record has liabilities with blacks and whites in a district where the proportion of poor blacks ranges from 44 to 66 percent, and white poverty in most counties ranges from 10 to 22 percent.

He argues that there have been no cuts in social programs under Reagan, only slower growth, even though since 1981 in Mississippi 21,000 people lost food stamps, 17,000 lost Medicaid and welfare benefits, and 38,000 students lost school breakfasts and lunches. Franklin misrepresents his own record, emphasizes personal constituent services to blacks as well as whites in his TV ads, and talks about the need to break the cycle of poverty by cutting federal spending and taxes, encouraging investors and creating jobs.

It is pure job-through-private-growth 1984 Republicanism. The only problem is that there is little sign of it working in the second district, where Franklin admits that 20 percent of blacks and 9 percent of whites are still unemployed (both understated). He takes credit in an ad for bringing 2,000 jobs (ironically, they are not from private enterprise but federal waterway projects).

But in the Greenwood industrial park, the Baldwin piano factory is fairly typical of local industry. Four years ago it employed 1,000, now about 420. "It is mainly the economic slump," plant manager J.D. Chastain explained, "but imports have hurt us a lot." The strong dollar, a product in large part of Reagan deficits and high interest rates, make Japanese and Korean imports cheaper.

Despite his loyalty to Reagan, Franklin doesn't mention the president or the Republican party in any of his campaign literature or ads. The altered image is in part designed to attract black votes. For whites who might not like the severity of his budget cuts, Franklin emphasizes his support for school prayer. Clark believes in prayer but also in freedom of religion and wonders what will happen when a child wants to "praise the Lord" in his church's demonstrative style. Franklin tries to cover his votes against education spending with his opposition to federal intervention in local schools, itself partly a coded racial message.

Franklin also distorts Clark's record and positions, for example, saying that he favors a tax increase (Clark opposes any increase) and that he missed half the votes in the legislature (accurate for this election year, but Clark has a 95 percent attendance record over his career). Clark

is particularly upset at one ad featuring a black man thanking Franklin for help in building a nursing home when it was Clark, working in the state legislature, who got the man the certificate of need required for construction.

In his two TV ads for the final weeks, Clark attacks Franklin's opposition to education, social security and the nuclear freeze, ending with an appeal: if you agree, don't oppose me because I'm black, and if you don't agree, don't vote for me because I'm black.

But it is obvious that many blacks are excited to have a candidate who is not only good on the issues but also black. And Clark clearly benefits from changes made in the district since 1982. In that year the federal court issued an intervening plan for a new district in response to a Voting Rights Act lawsuit. Johnnie Walls, a Greenville attorney, was involved in the suit. He also briefly toyed with launching an independent senatorial race against both Republican Sen. Thad Cochran and moderate Democrat William Winter, the former governor, who is running an uphill battle.

From the 1880s until the Voting Rights Act was passed, there had been a Delta district, Walls explained. The court agreed with the suit that the district had been broken up to prevent a black majority. Under the 1982 interim plan, the district was 53 percent black, 48 percent blacks of voting age. Earlier this year it was redrawn to be 58 percent black, with 53 to 54 percent blacks of voting age.

Walls had argued for a district that was 65 percent black in order to ensure that blacks could choose a candidate and overcome historical barriers, poverty, poor education as well as white bloc voting. "The court felt with a candidate like Robert Clark with appeal to blacks and whites, a black candidate could win," Walls said. "Clark can win, but it's calling for something that hasn't happened in Mississippi—something like what happened in Chicago. Blacks have almost never turned out more than 55 to 60 percent. But if we get 60 to 70 percent turnout, Clark can win."

Some whites in the campaign think Clark will get 20 percent of white votes this time. Clark thinks it will stay the same while Walls thinks it will be less. "Clark has been a politician who would support our positions but not out on the vanguard," Walls said, echoing criticisms made by two blacks who ran against Clark in the primary (incidentally using up money while Franklin had no contest). "White people in Mississippi might say he's all right: 'He's not one of those flaming radicals.' But people seem to put him in that category anyway because he's black."

Cleveland, Miss., attorney Ellis Turnage thinks some whites may decide to vote for Clark rather than risk having the appeals court rule in favor of a 65 percent black district that might elect a more exclusively black-oriented militant member of Congress.

But Walls does not see such sophistication or compromise. "I think they realize that electing Franklin will almost be like a lynching," he said. "It will send a message to blacks that this is not your district and blacks should just give up. But I think black people are going to come back right again."

Turnage agrees: "If we don't get Clark this time, we'll get him or whoever else next time. I can only see good things happening for blacks politically, especially in the Delta."

"If Clark wins with a large white vote, it will be a signal that black and white people can work together in the party with mutual respect," said Walls, who was elected last spring as Democratic county chairman thanks to Jesse Jackson supporters who swamped the caucuses. "If Clark wins narrowly with small white support, a lot of blacks will say, 'What do we need Democrats for? Why do we need the party?' Clark's race is a test of whether party loyalty means anything."

Continued on page 10

IN SHORT

Voting their pocketbooks

Chicago Mayor Harold Washington and Chicago Urban League President James Compton tried to dispel talk of the reluctance of blacks to back Mondale last week at a rally for the presidential candidate that drew 1,400 community leaders. Washington used his usual poetics: "Head to toe, hip to hip, Walter Mondale is the right man for the job," while Compton issued a call to arms: "We have not forged our way to this stage in politics to let others pick the next president of the United States." In return, Mondale gave the boisterous crowd a promise that brought them to their feet: "When I'm elected I'll fire every person in the Civil Rights Commission that Reagan has hired."

Speaker after speaker pounded Reagan on the economic issues, including Compton's dig that "Reagan's voodoo economics gives voodoo a bad name." A few cited statistics from a recent study compiled by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities that show that blacks at every income level are worse off now than they were before Reagan took office. Households making less than \$10,000 a year (the bottom fifth of all income groups) will lose an average of \$1,100 each from 1983-85, while the \$80,000 and above range will gain an average of \$24,000 in those three years. With 63 percent of black families and 58 percent of Hispanic families in the lowest two-fifths of the earnings scale, Reagan's voodoo was effectively malicious for these minorities. In fact the study proved what has become commonplace wisdom in some sectors: the income gap between the poorest two-fifths and the wealthiest two-fifths is larger now than any time since 1947, when the studies were first conducted. For a copy of "Falling Behind: A Report on How Blacks Have Fared Under Reagan" contact the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 236 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Suite 305, Washington, D.C. 20002; 202-544-0591.

It's only words...

A funny thing happened to Gabriel Garcia Marquez on his way to a National Writers Union conference on censorship in New York this past week. He was censored. The Nobel-winning author of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* was scheduled to address the recent Censorship and Culture conference, but the Reagan administration, which sees the world far differently than the Latin American writer, denied him permission to visit the U.S., report Carole and Paul Bass. Two other radical foreign-born writers did make it to the three-day conference. Chilean Ariel Dorfman and South African Dennis Brutus—both exiles and now living in the U.S.—spoke about deadly state censorship in their native countries, whose governments the Reagan administration heartily supports. They spoke mainly of censorship in this country, however. Not the crude sort where dictators place black holes in the place of newspaper photographs, but, as Dorfman put it, "the technicolor holes—the Dukes of Hazards holes." "At least in Chile," Dorfman reflected, "words still have value."

And U.S. investigative reporter Seymour Hersh agreed with Dorfman: "I don't think it matters very much what we write." His exhaustive expose of Henry Kissinger's actions during the Vietnam war, *The Price of Power*, made no impact on Kissinger's re-emergence as a foreign policy maker in Washington. Freelance journalist John Dingus proposed a plan applying workplace democracy—a notion most often associated with auto plants—to the newsroom as an antidote to the invisible censorship that stems from the concentration of the nation's media in the hands of a few conglomerates. He suggested, as a part of "a utopian code of ethics," that publishers' views be restricted to their papers' editorial pages, and that reporters be given more say in determining what's news.

Shelter of peace

Earlier this month, during the Jewish festival of *Sukkot*, hundreds of Jews came together to protest Reagan's policies of nuclear destruction at a rally in Lafayette Park in Washington, D.C., and thousands more participated in local Sukkat Shalom observances throughout the country, reports Christie Balka. As part of the national freeze weekend Sukkat Shalom—shelter of peace—drew on traditional themes of *Sukkot*, which celebrates the harvest, to express the Jewish community's hope for a nuclear-free future. The rally in Washington was initiated by the most broad-based Jewish coalition for nuclear disarmament to date. It included the Rabbinical Assembly of America (Conservative Judaism), the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform Judaism), the New Jewish Agenda, the Shalom Center and half a dozen others. Sukkat Shalom events initiated by New Jewish Agenda were held in Boston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Seattle, Gary, Ind., Madison, Wis., Portland, Ore., and Santa Fe, N.M.

Stand by your man

And we were afraid we were the only ones worried about Ronald Reagan's age. Nancy Reagan has had her share of questions about her husband's waning faculties, and she finally told *CBS Morning News* the way it is at the White House, living with the 73-year-old president. Calling his mind "a computer, a steel trap," she added as evidence: "He can remember facts and figures I've long since forgotten and everyone else has too."

—Beth Maschinot



AIDS and gay rights collide in closings

SAN FRANCISCO—After six days of defying the San Francisco health director's order to close, the city's 14 gay bathhouses and sex clubs closed their doors to the public last week in the face of a court-mandated order. The businesses will remain closed at least until October 30th when the state Superior Court will decide whether or not to issue a permanent injunction.

The court decision marked what may be the telling first step toward a solution to San Francisco's lengthy bathhouse controversy. A loose-knit coalition of lesbian and gay attorneys, health activists, and civil rights advocates believe the closure order may also be a dangerous omen for the status of gay rights.

The court action came at the request of the city attorney's office. The attorneys argued that the restraining order was necessary in light of the "uncontrolled spread of AIDS" in the city. On October 9th Dr. Mervyn Silverman, director of the city's Department of Public Health, announced his decision to order all the gay bathhouses and other gay sex businesses closed.

Within hours after the orders were posted at each of the businesses, most business owners reopened them upon advice from their attorneys. The attorneys argued that the order from

Silverman was not legally binding. Explained Thomas Steele, attorney for five of the bathhouse owners, "Without a court statement, they don't have to comply."

When the businesses refused to close, the city requested a temporary restraining order from the municipal court. The order was granted in mid-October by Judge William Mullins.

The city's order to close was not unexpected but the owners and their attorneys were surprised that the health director did not impose a quarantine—a binding order closing the businesses because of a health emergency. Instead the order came under "red light abatement" powers to deter a public nuisance.

Attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Bay Area Lawyers for Individual Freedom (BALIF) and Bay Area Physicians for Human Rights (BAPHR) attempted to file "friends of the court" briefs but Judge Mullins did not allow them to be filed. Donna Hitchins, ACLU attorney, noted in a press statement that "when people's constitutional rights are curtailed in any way, the government must prove beyond a doubt that such curtailment under strict scrutiny is absolutely necessary for a compelling gov-

ernment interest." Hitchins said the ACLU and BALIF briefs resulted from the organizations' concerns for full consideration of the constitutional rights involved and did not reflect either support or opposition to the closure of the gay establishments.

The controversy over the role of the gay bathhouses and other sex businesses in the spread of AIDS has been an issue of intense public debate for the last six months in San Francisco. The city has the highest per capita incidence of AIDS in the country, and—unlike the situation in East Coast cities—virtually all the AIDS diagnoses in San Francisco have occurred among gay men. The debate is complicated by the fact that AIDS is not believed to be transmitted by any contact with a building, bathhouse or otherwise, but rather by behavior—in this case sexual activities that allow for the exchange of body fluids. While health director Silverman has repeatedly acknowledged the "tremendous behavior change in the gay community", he added that high-risk behaviors that sometimes occur in the sex businesses should not be allowed.

Randy Stallings, past president of the Alice B. Toklas Lesbian/Gay Memorial Club, said he was appalled by the city's action and incensed that gay city Supervisor Harry Britt was supporting the closure directive. Britt, seeking re-election, had recently told the city's gay clubs that he was opposed to bathhouse closure unless the health director felt compelled to use his state-authorized emergency quarantine power. Britt had said then that he did not feel current medical evidence supported such a move. But in early October, the supervisor said that he supported the effort to close the 14 businesses.

Several gay organizations—including the Bay Area Physicians for Human Rights (BAPHR), the Lesbian Rights Project, People with AIDS-San Francisco, the Golden Gate Business Association, and three of the city's gay political clubs—have rallied in opposition to the most recent action by the health department.

However, Britt reasserts that he will not oppose the directive from the health department. And Carole Migden, president of the Harvey Milk Lesbian and Gay Democratic Club, said the club would support the decision of Dr. Silverman. Two prominent gay physicians and AIDS researchers also supported the business closure as a means of reducing the spread of the usually fatal disease.

Mayor Diane Feinstein and

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



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the Board of Supervisors have also voiced their support of the health directive. Feinstein has been a persistent critic of the health department for not closing the businesses sooner.

Attorney Steele, speaking for the bathhouse owners, noted in a news conference held after the closure order, "My clients have been in the forefront of AIDS education and prevention efforts." Most of the city's gay bathhouses had already posted risk reduction signs, distributed condoms, closed orgy rooms, and increased lighting in their facilities. Steele concluded that closure of the baths was an unwarranted intrusion upon the rights of privacy of gay men in the city. He added, "This is not the time to undermine or abandon our civil rights in the name of disease control."

Other prominent physicians who have treated AIDS patients in the city disagree that the closure would be ineffective or disrupt education efforts. They believe that such a dramatic move may itself be an educational statement about the seriousness of the AIDS epidemic. They suggest that closure of the businesses would make it more difficult for some men to have the multiple partner, high-risk sex found to be a significant factor in contracting the disease.

The bathhouse controversy in San Francisco has now moved beyond the gay community and the elected officials into the city's courtrooms. Here it can be expected to pit medical experts against each other—while all observers attempt to untangle the civil rights issues from the public health concerns.

—Michael Helquist
and Rick Osmon

A British view of U.S. elections

LONDON—In a year that has seen a barrage of U.S. political figures on TV screens in Britain, November 6 will come as a welcome relief. In the meantime, inevitable misgivings about the election's outcome persist.

For British observers two issues are at stake. The first is economic. The colossal Reagan deficit and the widespread effects of high U.S. interest rates are the focus of much suspicion and anxiety in Britain. But the economic question is particularly important for the political classes. As British financial and economic pundits twitch with every flicker of U.S. interest rates, the likelihood of a Reagan re-election is the great hope of the Thatcher administration that has faith, in public at least, that the deficit will be tackled in a second term and, above all, that interest rates will drop significantly.

At the same time, the Conservative government has undeniably managed to blame many of its own problems on the effects of U.S. fiscal policy in what looks more and more like a very British failure of radical right-wing economic philosophy. Translated into practice this

meant a stagnant job market, rising unemployment (current official figures at 3.2 million), import saturation, a manufacturing sector in deep trouble and exports lagging behind "market potential." Without the revenue of Britain's off-shore oil fields, the picture would be worse still.

What lies ahead is bleaker still, as the miners' strike seems set to continue through the winter challenging pit closures that would lead to further social erosion in a landscape already scarred with the effects of recession.

Although willing when necessary to point the finger at America, the exponents of Thatcherism also have an irritating tendency to invoke the internal success story of the U.S. economy as a model. At last month's IMF meeting in Washington, UK Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson stated that Britain should follow the path trodden by the U.S. and opt for real cuts in wages—the only way, he argued, to price Britain's unemployed back into the job market. Theories of this kind dovetail nicely with the government's anti-union stand.

However the supporters of Thatcherism underplay the decisive role of the Republican deficit in the highly selective U.S. recovery. Any suggestion that Reaganomics has spent its way out of trouble—albeit grotesquely—is anathema to Mrs. Thatcher and her associates.

The second issue in this election, as seen from Britain, is more widely debated. Prospects of a second Republican term raise obvious worries about the future of world peace. Reagan's policy failures in Central America and the Middle East have been key objects of criticism throughout the year. Cruise missiles, always the symbols of an unwelcome U.S. hegemony, continue to cause anxiety. At the Liberal Party conference in September, in a shock for Liberal leader David Steel, a motion was carried urging withdrawal of cruise. The Labor Party, displaying an unexpected consensus on defense policy, had no difficulty in following suit.

Most British agree with the Mondale assessment of Reagan's recent turn-around on arms control and relations with Moscow as a deathbed conversion. Criticizing the transparency of the president's new-found conviction, *The Manchester Guardian* declared: "It is only when you try to discern a consistent and coherent purpose to the president's initiatives that bemusement and cynicism grow like weeds on a derelict building site."

The image of dereliction is one which leaps instinctively to the British imagination, surrounded as it is with creeping inner city blight and a withered industrial infrastructure. It also tends to refer the British back inexorably—and perhaps rightly—to their own problems. With no let-up in unemployment figures and rising tension in its coalfields, Britain may face such serious domestic difficulties by the first sessions of the 1985 Congress that it will be paying a lot less attention to events in Washington than it has been lately.

—Jeremy Harding

Briefing: U.S. pre-empts Costa Rican airwaves

On August 31, U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica Curtin Winsor and Lilia Berocal of the Costa Rican Association of Information and Culture (A.C.I.C.) signed an agreement to install a high-powered radio transmitter in Costa Rica—only 20 kilometers from the Nicaraguan border. Winsor signed on behalf of the Voice of America which will use 60 percent of the airtime. The A.C.I.C. will get the remaining 40 percent for programming.

In September 1983, Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge petitioned funds from the Reagan administration in order to "recapture Costa Rica's radio sovereignty." The Reagan administration responded with \$1,143,000 for "start up costs" and an additional promise of \$168,000 per year for the maintenance of a full scale operation of the Voice of America.

The Association of Information and Culture was privately formed in December 1983 by major media and communications figures of Costa Rica to allow Voice of America access to airtime by circumventing a Costa Rican law which prohibits any communications system being owned by foreigners. A.C.I.C. President Berocal defends the move, saying that "the people of northern Costa Rica have been exposed to extensive propaganda from the Nicaraguan communication system."

The transmitter will function at a frequency of 930 kilohertz with a strength of 50 kilowatts. It will be one of the most powerful radio systems in Central America and should be picked up easily on inexpensive AM/FM radios as it will be medium and not short wave frequency. The system is expected to reach Managua and some observers say that it may reach as far as El Salvador. Although the broadcasting of a medium wave radio system into another country is a violation of Costa Rican Constitutional Law, a diplomat at the U.S. Embassy in Costa Rica said "radio transmitters don't function according to borders."

The cooperative agreement between the Voice of America and the A.C.I.C. states that the U.S. Information Service is the sole owner of the radio transmitter and other equipment, and that the USIS will control all finances regarding maintenance and operation of the transmitter. Article VI of the Agreement frees the Voice of America, the U.S. government and all employees of any responsibilities or damages which may arise while operating the transmitter. The agreement—signed for five years—provides an option for a "five year renewal plan which will depend on funds solicited from the U.S. Congress."

U.S. Embassy officials tried

to keep the agreement quiet, but an article in the University of Costa Rica's *Seminario Universidad* publicized the signing ceremony in the home of President Monge. The newspaper and its editor Carlos Morales soon came under sharp criticism by US Ambassador Curtin Winsor. In an interview with Agencia France Press (AFP), Winsor said he would like to "tear to pieces the communist *Seminario*...and see established a magazine for the youth of the University as an alternative to the communist publication."

Winsor also made headlines recently over remarks to a Republican group in Charleston, West Virginia when he described Nicaragua as a "piece of contaminated meat which attracts insects from all over the world." The insects, he said, included Cubans, Lybians, Eastern Europeans, PLO members and Basque separatists. Winsor said that a multinational force was needed to fight against the Sandinistas, calling them "bandits who came to power due to our own ineptitude...but the U.S. lacks the will to exercise such military might."



Reagan and Costa Rican President Luis Monge are buying airtime for their views.

Another new phase in Costa Rica's growing "media war" came early this month with an announcement of plans to install three television transmitters in the same region. The U.S. government will finance the \$1.5 million project. Preparations are underway to have a private Costa Rican broadcasting concern place large transmitters in three locations near the Nicaraguan border. Each transmitter will be 30 kilowatts, larger than any currently operating in Central America. Equipped with high gain antennas, the signal received in Managua will be stronger than the signal of Nicaragua's official Sandinista television.

Last November Costa Rican President Monge signed a Neutrality Act which formally states Costa Rica's policy of

neutrality and independence affirming that "we also commit ourselves to make every possible effort to prevent our national territory, airspace and jurisdictional waters from being used in any way by belligerents."

University newspaper editor Carlos Morales points out that sovereignty of airspace refers to more than just the flying of aircraft. The decisions to transmit Voice of America and to expand television transmission, seen by some as an infraction of the Neutrality Act and violation of Costa Rican law, were at no point brought before the Legislative Assembly for a vote. Two Assembly members are suing over the legality of the decision. Assembly member Sergio Ardon said that "the communication system headed by the U.S. Information Service with links to the C.I.A. is intending to communicate to the people of Costa Rica and Nicaragua their impartial opinion concerning national and international matters."

Some political groups in Costa Rica believe that a U.S.-operated radio system in Costa Rica focusing on anti-Sandinista programming will create further tensions between the two countries. During a time when Costa Rican economy has become increasingly dependent on U.S. loans, pressure to break ties with Nicaragua and militar-

ize against its northern neighbor has grown immeasurably.

In August the Costa Rican Chamber of Commerce proposed to President Monge that all economic and political ties with Nicaragua be cut. The request was rejected only to be followed by Chancellor Jorge Urbina's declaration that relations with Nicaragua were at an all time low and that Costa Rica might find it necessary to ask Panama for helicopters to patrol its southern border. The recent decision by Honduran-based counter-revolutionary group the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN) and the Costa Rican-based Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) to join forces against the Sandinistas has further added to tensions on the border.

In a region moving toward full-scale war, the movement in neutral Costa Rica is toward an instability that breeds a growing dependence on the U.S.

—Maureen Meehan

ILLINOIS

Paul Simon whittles away at Sen. Charles Percy's base



After their debates, it was clear Simon would be well to the left of Percy in the Senate.

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

SEN. CHARLES PERCY HAS LED a charmed political life. The wealthy former chief executive of Bell and Howell has won three terms in the Senate without ever having a committed base of support and without being very well liked even within his Republican Party. But by adjusting adroitly to the political winds, he has always picked up enough unenthusiastic backing from varied sources to carry him to victory.

Long known as a moderate Republican, Percy started his career in 1964 as a vocal opponent of open housing. In the last few years he has abandoned the few remaining liberal Republican senators and become a staunch defender of President Reagan's policies, even though he had earlier been one of President Jimmy Carter's most reliable allies in the Senate and in 1976 described a possible Reagan presidential nomination as "the beginning of the end of the Republican Party."

Over the years Percy could count on the votes of Republicans, many liberal Democrats and independents upset with his conservative Democratic opponents, those downstate who were suspicious of Chicago machine ties of the Democratic candidates, as well as many Jews, a sizable bloc of blacks and some union members. But the coalition was unstable and did not reflect any real attachment to Percy. Last spring he faced a strong challenge from conservative Rep. Thomas Corcoran, and now many national New Right groups are urging a vote for the Libertarian candidate and against Percy.

Rep. Paul Simon, a former crusading small-town newspaper editor and lieutenant governor, seemed like an ideal candidate to unravel much of the remaining Percy backing. As representative from the southernmost district of the state since 1975, Simon has a favorable image outside the Chicago metropolitan area enhanced by his career as a squeaky-clean, ethically unrepachable politician. This brings him support from conservative Democrats and independents who might otherwise disagree with some of his liberal views.

That cautious liberalism—his approval ratings from groups like the Americans for Democratic Action, the AFL-CIO

and consumer, civil rights and environmentalist groups typically are in the range of 75-80 percent—should erode Percy's crossover vote. But Percy carries residual support, and the Simon campaign has not yet clearly got through its message about how Percy has changed. Likewise many voters do not have a clear idea of what Simon stands for, even though they may be sympathetic to him.

In addition, Percy's widespread campaign of distorted, dishonest TV advertising accusing Simon of favoring tax hikes more than double Mondale's proposal has hurt Simon and forced him to spend time and money combating Percy's "big lie" strategy, as Simon campaign manager David Axelrod describes it. Although Percy's ads could backfire, so far they seem to have outweighed Simon's defense. With his own personal wealth available to supplement his already larger campaign fund, Percy can be expected to continue a heavily negative ad drive into the final days of the campaign.

The Simon dynamic.

In early October polls showed the race to be extremely close. The pros' best guess is that Simon is probably slightly behind but that there are many undecideds and a large fraction of weakly committed Percy voters. Political strategist Don Rose is convinced that "the dynamic is in Simon's direction." Percy's support seems to have peaked earlier below what is needed, but Simon has not yet shaken the ripe apples into his basket.

After a lackluster primary campaign that he nevertheless won handily against three competitors, Simon began a series of soft biographical ads. But Percy attacks on Simon as an ultraliberal big spender began to take their toll. Simon initially criticized Percy for refusing to release his tax returns, as all other primary candidates had, then used the partial figures available to argue that Percy, like other rich people, had benefitted handsomely from the Reagan tax cuts and shelters. "There are plenty of people fighting for the rich and powerful," one Simon ad said. "That's not me. I'm fighting for you" and your grandson, he tells a working-class grandmother.

But Simon quickly launched his major theme that Percy is undependable, inconsistent and vacillates from one side to another on major issues.

"We're saying to supporters of both Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale, 'Is this guy with you or will he be with you tomorrow?'" Axelrod said. Simon's slogan—"a senator you can count on"—reinforces that question. Percy rejoined with a series of "Simon says, Simon does" ads, such as attacking his vote against a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. (Ironically, Simon disappoints some supporters by backing one form of a balanced budget amendment that does not tie the budget to a fixed percentage of the gross national product as well as the line-item veto that Reagan wants.) Axelrod is convinced that Simon's ads worked better than Percy's, since Percy already had an image as a vacillating weathervane. But the parallel charges may have partially neutralized each other.

"There is a choice in this campaign," Axelrod insists. "It's a choice between someone who stands for something and someone who stands for nothing. Percy is not a born-again Reaganite. He's the same old opportunist."

Yet in order to win the needed votes from blacks, liberals and moderates, Simon has to show how Percy has changed. At first Simon's campaign was cautious, since it did not want to alienate Simon's appeal among conservative Democrats and independents, many of whom may vote for Reagan. Lately the attack has picked up. Mayor Harold Washington recorded ads aimed at Chicago's black voters accusing Percy of betrayal.

Percy snapped back with a charge that the ads were "racist" since they appealed only to blacks. (In 1978 Percy ran black-oriented radio endorsements by his pal Jesse Jackson, who has not been in evidence this time.) There was speculation that Percy was making a bid for the white racist vote. Later, Percy, still defending his comment, told a black audience he "loved" Washington. Although polls now show 20 to 30 percent of blacks for Percy, that is likely to drop dramatically.

Percy appears to have lost heavily among Jews, many of whom were angry at him for supporting sale of AWACS jets to Saudi Arabia. Pro-Israel contributions have helped fill Simon's coffers and financed independent attacks, such as billboards and TV ads showing Percy as a chameleon financed by a wealthy young Californian. Simon is unquestionably

pro-Israel, favoring moving the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem, for example.

Although Simon has a more favorable rating among liberals than Percy does, still nearly two-thirds of voters think that Percy is for the nuclear freeze, despite his steadfast opposition (one point of consistency). Simon ads are now driving that lesson home. They are also attacking Percy on his support for lifting natural gas price controls and for his votes to weaken toxic waste clean-up ("the Senate race is as close as a glass of drinking water" the ads say, implicitly an attempt to bring some voter passion into a race that has been slow to engage the public).

Percy's vulnerabilities.

Despite Percy's Reaganite themes ("I'm an optimist, Simon's a pessimist; growth is coming and will take care of budget deficits, unemployment and every other ill"), he is vulnerable on economic issues. Recovery has been slow to come to much of the state, and unemployment officially remains at 8.4 percent. Pat Caddell polls in Delaware show 85 percent of voters think the U.S. is on the right track with the economy. In Illinois only 40 percent think so.

In their October 18 debate, when Percy bragged about bringing a contract worth 300 jobs to Caterpillar, the biggest downstate private employer, Simon reminded him that a few days earlier Caterpillar had laid off 2,450 workers. In one of his final issue ads, Simon attacks Percy for supporting tax breaks that send jobs overseas to France, Japan and Brazil, ending with a French worker going to his job saying, "Merci, Senator Percy."

Although Percy once had a favorable labor voting record, that has shifted dramatically, starting with opposition to labor law reform. Reagan-style economic views that belie his liberal image were apparent in a business magazine interview when he was asked about high unemployment insurance costs in Illinois. "Our costs are so high and benefits so high that it's hard to get people hungry enough to go out and get a job," Percy replied.

Simon repeatedly questions Percy's effectiveness as a senator in serving Illinois, a counter to Percy's campaign slogan, "the Illinois advantage." In 1978 Percy hit the airwaves in the last days with a desperate plea to voters that he was sorry for neglecting the state and had heard their message. Simon replays part of that plea and then concludes, "With Paul Simon, you'll never have to say you're sorry."

But Percy scored a solid hit when he attacked Simon's deficit reduction plan as a \$200 million tax compared to Mondale's \$89 million tax increase. The ad did not mention that Simon's plan covered four years, not one as in Mondale's. Also, there was no tax rate increase in Simon's plan.

He favored unspecified budget cuts (admitting that making them clear would be politically dangerous) and closing tax loopholes, such as enacting a minimum tax for corporations, elimination of tax breaks for companies moving jobs to other countries, cutting tax benefits for corporations that use their money for non-productive ends and eliminating deduction of state and local sales tax—the latter seized by Percy as a tax increase for individuals.

Simon is a very reserved, quiet campaigner. His good guy image is neatly symbolized by his trademark bow tie.

Sen. Percy will likely continue his heavily negative ad campaign.

CAMPAIGN

"Early on I had fears Simon wouldn't do the right things because he had scruples," Rose said. But finally Simon has come out fighting, demanding in their last debate that Percy apologize for the "crude" and "sleazy" tax ad (since followed by an ad showing hypothetical Simon staff plotting how to conceal Simon's tax increase plans). Such aggressiveness, which Simon employs awkwardly, may counter the subterranean "wimp" objections to Simon.

Simon has not always been willing to defend his past proposals as vigorously as he could for fear of the dreaded "liberal" tag. While he argues that Mondale needs to spell out his vision for America and in his book on Democratic strategies wrote that Democrats who ran on strong liberal platforms did best in 1980, he has not always followed his own advice.

"My own vision is that we have to have a government that is sensitive to the needs of people," he told *In These Times*. "When the budget is put together, the priorities ought to be a little different from what they are now. Unemployment is not an act of God. Unemployment is a result of flawed economic policies. The next giant step forward that our society is going to make is to guarantee a job to all Americans."

Increased education, which he has always promoted, will solve some problems, he says. "But we're going to have a residue of people who are going to be alienated, left out, unproductive, and since we are not going to let them starve, we face a choice of paying them for doing nothing or paying them for doing something."

Yet even though unemployment is by far the number one issue on people's minds, Simon has not pushed his own public works job proposal. "It's a pragmatic political decision made by staff people and media people that I am going to be characterized, and am characterized by Charles Percy, as a big-spending liberal." In their October debate Simon only mentioned his plan after Percy attacked it. Simon argued that its five-year price tag of \$60 billion would be largely recovered in other government savings, such as unemployment and welfare.

At times Simon champions the worker, farmer and small business person and attacks corporate power—in his proposals on taxes, toxic wastes and natural gas, for example. But often he has been more of a good government liberal, advocating less controversial causes such as amusement park safety, a missing children's network, foreign language training and cultural exchanges. In today's climate, however, even those apple-pie issues are attacked by the right.

In the Senate Simon would be well to the left of Percy but not at the cutting edge. A supporter of military reform, he favors more conventional and less nuclear weaponry, a 3 percent real increase in military spending rather than real cuts and a gradual reduction in U.S. troops in Europe (but not Korea). He voted for Euromissiles but then urged Reagan not to deploy if the Soviets stopped further missile deployment in Eastern Europe. He has opposed aid to Nicaraguan *contras* but supported aid to El Salvador.

Simon sees himself as a pragmatist and a "progressive." He opposes the Reagan tax cuts and tax indexing, but now argues that neither can be repealed since they are so politically popular. He would shift the burden of raising revenues and cutting costs to another bipartisan congressional group to give members courage to vote for it (and probably guarantee a muddled result). Yet Simon's caution is more predictable and still more liberal than Percy's rightward swerve. Liberal groups that once endorsed Percy are now behind Simon, and Illinois Public Action Council, the statewide consumer group, Freeze Voters and other issue groups are working for Simon.

His attack on the issues in the final weeks should bring more of the liberals and moderates out of Percy's camp, while Percy's "tax and spend" attacks may take away some Simon conservatives. But barring a Reagan landslide, the odds favor a narrow victory for the Democrats in one of their most closely watched races.



Democratic congressional candidate Carl R. "Skip" Schwerdtfeger owns and operates a 275-acre farm.

ILLINOIS

Midwest populist vs. Reagan stalwart

By David Moberg

ROCKFORD, ILL.

THE LAST DEMOCRAT SENT TO Congress from this district in northwestern Illinois was elected in 1848, Carl R. "Skip" Schwerdtfeger, Democratic challenger to Rep. Lynn Martin, told an arch-conservative Rockford Rotary Club gathering. "It's really about time."

Schwerdtfeger may have amused and disarmed his Rotarian audience, but his avalanche of disturbing economic statistics—graphically displayed on posters, a reflection of his 21 years teaching high school history and social sciences—seemed unlikely to shake any of them from blind faith in Reagan. However, Schwerdtfeger may find the votes for an upset victory elsewhere as a result of massive voter registration, a well-organized campaign to mobilize Democrats and an advertising campaign aimed at Martin's greatest presumed vulnerabilities.

Despite the Republican representation, this district also has some history of political independence. This was John Anderson's district (Anderson has endorsed Schwerdtfeger), and there are numerous Democratic state and local elected officials. But there is a strong ultraconservative bloc that seriously challenged Anderson. It is in large part a farm and small town district resembling the dairy farming country of southern Wisconsin as much as the corn belt father south. Yet the district—especially in Rockford, its major city—has a strong concentration of machine tool, auto, steel fabrication and other manufacturing, most of which has suffered deeply during the Reagan years.

Schwerdtfeger, who also owns and operates a 275-acre farm, strikes his own brand of independence. There are all kinds of Democrats and Republicans, he told the Rotarians. "What kind of Democrat am I?" he asked. "Probably not a very good one. I've been preaching balanced budgets for 20 years."

But after a little history of Democrats, Republicans and Populists in the late

19th century, he said, "I probably would frankly qualify more as a Populist than anything else. I'm a Democrat because more of the Populist ideas were embodied there, even though many of them were promptly forgotten—but not by me."

Schwerdtfeger's populism makes him an ardent critic of U.S. intervention in Central America and of the arms race (he thinks the military can be strengthened with new priorities in spending and net cuts of \$30 billion in waste and \$60 billion in misguided programs), a dedicated environmentalist, a proponent of public works jobs projects, a supporter of tax reform and a defender of small business, farmers and workers against big corporations.

Martin, first elected in 1980, also un-

Polls show a strong majority of new voters for challenger Schwerdtfeger.

derstands the district's history of independence. One of Schwerdtfeger's main tasks is to convince voters that despite her cultivated image, she is far more conservative—and out of touch with the district—than some of her ratings suggest. There's no question that Martin is a Reaganite down the line on economics, and she preaches the new politics of joy. One of her TV ads had her standing in Wrigley Field, proclaiming that just like the Cubs, America is back. The ad was run during the playoffs and then—whoops!—during the World Series as well.

But if her *National Journal* rating showed her more conservative than 76 percent of her colleagues on economic issues last year (more conservative than 96 percent of them in 1981), it also showed her more liberal than 42 to 43 percent of them on social and foreign policy issues. "She talked John Anderson politics and

voted Jesse Helms politics, except for sexy social issues that didn't cost money," Schwerdtfeger said. "She was pro-choice, pro-ERA, but had a zero rating from the Children's Defense Fund. She's a counterfeit, but a talented one."

He cited several examples of Martin's carefully contrived voting record:

- On the same day that she voted for the Zablocki pro-nuclear freeze amendment (the freeze is very popular in the district), she voted to kill it on an amendment and a week later voted full funding for new nuclear weapons.

- In a district with more than 1,100 toxic waste dumps—and five of the 11 in Illinois cited by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for immediate action—Martin first co-sponsored a toothless Republican plan for the Superfund clean-up. Then she voted for five different crippling amendments to the Florio bill for funding toxic clean-up, and only when those were defeated and final passage was assured did she switch and vote for the bill.

- After Schwerdtfeger attacked her for neglecting the unemployed in the area, she introduced a bill to extend unemployment benefits. But after another version passed, she voted against funding it.

- She voted against the MX missile on a vote that was to be used for ratings, then a week later voted for the MX and then for full military funding.

It is tough in a campaign to get across such duplicity to the average voter. On the basis of polling data, the campaign decided to concentrate on four issues—supporting withholding tax on bank accounts, cutting Social Security benefits, failure to control health care costs and cutting Medicare and not passing any legislation—that voters said might lead them to vote against a candidate. Ads show Martin's face, then the back of her head, asking if Martin has "turned her back on the district."

Two years ago Schwerdtfeger challenged Martin and lost by 22,000 votes (57 to 43 percent). But he spent less than one-third of Martin's budget, had a staff of one—his wife Carol—and had no television advertising. After a detailed study of the results, he concluded that there were 30,000 voters who voted for other Democratic candidates but not for him, 44,000 solid Democrats who didn't vote and 102,000 unregistered adults. He set out to find the missing votes.

Voter registration groups claimed a state record for the district with 32,000 new voters registered, most by liberal-leaning groups (the Republicans announced that they had registered 100 voters). Polls show a strong majority of new voters for Schwerdtfeger. With \$150,000 (two and one-half times what he had in 1982), he has a chance to boost his already good name recognition.

His campaign is staffed with veterans of Lane Evans' successful 1982 upset in a similar, adjacent district, and volunteers from Illinois Public Action Council, Freeze Voters and other issue groups have supplemented a volunteer campaign force of 125 canvassers. In the process, the campaign has in large part had to rebuild the demoralized, disorganized local Democratic Party. A clear, effective speaker with a fine, folksy sense of humor and a command of the issues, Schwerdtfeger is also tirelessly traversing the district in a mobile van (complete with a "Reagan-style," that is, trickle-down shower).

He may follow the polls in fashioning his ad campaign, but in other ways he is defiantly principled. For example, he leafleted the 6,000 workers at the Sundstrand Corp., a subcontractor for the B-1 bomber, on his opposition to the B-1 and pledge to bring other contracts to the firm. The local UAW officials worked energetically among their ranks to drum up support.

"The issues are real simple," he said, sipping soup to nurse a cold on a rainy campaign day. "Do you believe in trickle-down economics? Do you want to keep your farm or job? And politically it hinges on how much we get on the air and how much we turn out our people."

He tries to make it easy: it's not "Schwerdtfeger for Congress," but "Vote for Skip."

We're the tobacco industry, too.

In 1983, our brothers and sisters marched in Washington honoring the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King. We worked for passage of the Voting Rights Act. We marched in the Nation's Capital to support health care for the elderly. In 1981, we rallied in support of Social Security. We were part of the historic Solidarity Day March. And again and again, we have fought to save the Food Stamps program.

You may be surprised to know we also work for the tobacco industry.

We are proud members of the Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union. And we care about the same things working people all over the country care about—jobs, equality, social justice, economic democracy, peace. We also care about the wages and benefits we have won for ourselves and our



Members of The Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union Local 203 T

families while working in the tobacco industry.

We want you to know our industry is threatened—not by foreign competition or old-fashioned technology—but by well-meaning people who haven't stopped to consider how their actions might affect others.

Everyone knows there is a controversy over smoking. What everyone doesn't know . . . and should . . . is that attacks on the tobacco industry threaten the livelihoods of thousands of working Americans who have marched, worked, and struggled for causes we all believe in.

The tobacco industry creates jobs, which for many of us make the difference between poverty and dignity. It means a lot to us.

Sponsored by The Tobacco Industry Labor/Management Committee

MINNESOTA

By Joan Walsh

MINNEAPOLIS

THIS IS WHAT IT LOOKS LIKE when a Senate campaign turns around. At Minnesota Democrat Joan Growe's headquarters, the phone rings off the hook all day long. Camera crews and reporters come in and out, asking for comment on polls showing Growe has narrowed Republican Sen. Rudy Boschwitz's lead from 24 points to seven in one month. On television, Growe ads run regularly, hitting Boschwitz hard on his refusal to release his income tax returns.

The incumbent, meanwhile, looks a little panicky, attacking Growe for running a negative campaign, pulling a series of ads criticizing her after only one day on the air. The change in momentum is palpable.

"Rudy Boschwitz is no match for Joan Growe," Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) told several hundred Growe supporters October 17, and even at the press table no one scoffed.

Growe's ascent from longshot to contender gives the Democrats a chance to elect their first woman senator, in this year when the women's vote is counted among the party's few electoral assets. The six Democratic women Senate candidates, including Growe, languished all summer 20 to 30 points behind their opponents in the polls, and millions of dollars behind in fundraising. But Growe's race has long been considered the most winnable, and by summer's end Democratic donors—including the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee (DSCC)—took a leap of faith and began pouring money into her campaign.

A Washington, D.C., consultant, Karl Struble, joined the staff. Hard-hitting, slicker ads reached the airwaves. The press began covering the campaign more seriously, and by mid-October the polls had closed so dramatically that Growe had been listed among the party's top five Senate priorities. "No one was happier than the DSCC to see our polls," notes campaign manager Steve Novak, because the committee, under fire for not giving enough support to women candidates, admittedly gambled on Growe.

Growe's success is especially striking because gender wasn't her biggest obstacle—party disunity was. She won a tough fight for the endorsement of Minnesota's Democratic Farmer-Labor (DFL) party, which has fared poorly in Senate and gubernatorial contests since Hubert Humphrey died in 1977. Democrats lost both Senate seats to Republicans in 1978, when Boschwitz beat former Gov. Wendell Anderson and David Durenberger defeated Bob Short. It has also watched its endorsed candidates lose primaries to non-endorsed Democrats—Short beat DFL-endorsed Donald Fraser in the '78 Senate primary, and current Gov. Rudy Perpich beat DFL stalwart Warren Spannaus in the 1982 gubernatorial primary.

Perpich won by attracting enthusiastic support in his home territory, Minnesota's northern Iron Range, the historic seat of the Farmer Labor Party. The defection of the Iron Range made Growe's election seem particularly problematic, because the region's increasing disaffection from the DFL mainstream is in many ways cultural. The Iron Range's economic problems are severe, with unemployment at crisis levels among the area's steel and ironworkers. But the ethnic, mostly Catholic population has become increasingly resistant to liberal, cosmopolitan politicians—especially, it was argued this year, women politicians such as Secretary of State Growe.

Abortion is a divisive issue there, although it causes DFL politicians problems all over Minnesota, where the anti-abortion movement is vocal and well-organized. In the battle for the DFL Senate endorsement, Growe's toughest opponent was U.S. Rep. James Oberstar, an anti-abortion legislator whose Eighth District includes the Iron Range. At party caucuses leading up to the mid-June nomina-



Joan Growe's (center) campaign has been an ascent from longshot to contender.

Will Growe be a first for the Dems?

ting convention, DFL members broke down into sub-caucuses based on candidate preference and issues—voters could join a Walter Mondale-nuclear freeze pro-choice group, or hook up with an uncommitted-nuclear freeze-pro-life caucus. Whatever else went on at the meetings, abortion dominated the headlines. A pre-convention *Wall Street Journal* article concluded that abortion "has become the arbiter of politics" in Minnesota.

The nominating convention proved fractious, but Growe emerged from the 26-hour, 19-ballot marathon session with

the party's official backing. Oberstar and former Gov. Wendell Anderson agreed not to challenge Growe in the September primary, where she faced a low-budget, unorganized campaign by State Treasurer Bob Mattson. Mattson stumped hard in his native Iron Range, trying to paint Growe as too liberal, but she won easily, carrying the Eighth District by 79 percent.

Nice-guy image.

In her challenge to Boschwitz, Growe faced much the same task as the other Democratic women Senate contenders this year: cutting through her high-spending opponent's nice-guy, middle-of-the-road image by informing voters of his stands on issues. Boschwitz campaigned as a moderate in 1978, as the likeable, plaid-shirted, millionaire owner of Plywood Minnesota. But his Senate record has proven him a reliable Reagan administration ally, at odds with Minnesota voters, polls show, on many state and national issues.

Boschwitz has been a solid vote for the president's military buildup, supporting MX, B-1 and nerve gas production and opposing a nuclear freeze. At the same time, he's gone farther than the administration on certain fiscal issues—he refuses to match Reagan's pledge not to cut Social Security benefits, for example, and has suggested that the deficit could be reduced by postponing tax indexing, the president's main tax break for middle-class voters.

Growe, meanwhile, has provided as clear an alternative to Boschwitz as conceivable. She first became politically active going to DFL caucuses to protest the Vietnam war, she notes. As a Senate candidate, she has made the nuclear freeze central to her campaign, and has benefited from state and national freeze cam-

paign support. At times she has gone farther than most Democrats on military issues, opposing the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles, which Mondale and Ferraro support.

But significantly, she is careful to place the freeze in its economic context, to attack the defense budget for taking money from social services and education, for amounting to a national industrial policy that doesn't create sufficient jobs.

For a mainstream Democrat, Growe is an unabashed defender of humane government. She very frankly attributes that to her own experiences as a single mother. At 28, she left an abusive husband and took her three pre-school children to St. Paul, where she taught and went to night school. She spent a summer on welfare, waiting for a teaching job, and the experience taught her that "government has a role to play for people. Most people want to be self sufficient, but sometimes they need assistance. And if we give it to them, they'll go on and be productive."

She has hit the Reagan administration hard on its role in the "feminization of poverty," and supports restoration of programs aiding women and children as well as comparable worth laws and the equal rights amendment.

That message appears to be having a political impact as polls show a large gender gap in her race, with men favoring Boschwitz by about 20 points but women evenly split between the two. Working women are her strongest supporters, notes pollster Keith Frederick, while women in the home favor Boschwitz by several points.

Growe is quick to argue that her appeal is based on economics, not gender. She points to her success among Iron Range voters in the primary. "They've heard me talk about economic issues, about unemployment, a situation that's just getting worse up there. They want to know how tough you'll be, if you'll fight for them, and they know I will." Others attest to Growe's success at appealing to "outstaters."

"We try to argue that pocketbook issues are the heart of the party, but these other issues, like abortion, have become strong," says DFL Chair Mary Monahan. "But Joan did well up north in the primary. She really had the full spectrum of the party behind her. I get the feeling that we're coming back together with this election. Ronald Reagan is dividing this country into a two-class society."

In the essential task of party unification Growe has been helped by her record as pragmatic politician and DFL loyalist. She is not a firebrand—her record is more solidly liberal than her rhetoric, and she chooses to label herself a "compassionate moderate." On the Iron Range, Gov. Perpich—decidedly to Growe's right—makes radio appeals for her candidacy.

On feminist issues she takes the right positions, but not always as outspokenly as some might like. "When asked directly she's never been anything but pro-choice, but for a time she didn't feel like it was in her best political interest to advertise it," says Jeri Rasmussen, a Planned Parenthood public affairs coordinator long active in the DFL. "I think a lot of us were impatient with her."

While Growe is enthusiastically supported in her Senate race by the DFL feminist caucus, she is not a part of it. She resisted pressure to run for lieutenant governor in 1982, when Spannaus chose a male running mate despite her stated desire for the job. The sacrifice earned her the chagrin of feminists but the gratitude of party leaders. This year, she's noted, "it's someone else's turn to be nice."

Change in tactics.

The hallmark of Growe's campaign to this point has been a tightknit coalition of women's, labor, farm and peace groups and a dedicated cadre of volunteers, mostly women. "We have hard-core loyalists—through the months when the polls didn't look good the phone banks

Continued on page 22

CAMPAIGN

Polls show a large gender gap in Joan Growe's senate race. Men favor her opponent by 20 points but women are evenly split between the two.

Clark

Continued from page 3

"If we're elected, the Democratic Party will have a solid base," Clark said, "but if not, they're going to have to take a hard look at themselves. The Democratic Party is going to have to broaden its base if it's going to continue to exist. In other words, they're going to have to prove there are enough blacks and whites who want to work together to have a two-party system in this state. The question if I lose is will you have a two-party state or will you have just a white party and a black party? [State party leaders] are very much aware of it—and the Republicans would like to see it happen."

Victor McTeer, an attorney now suing to end the state's dual primaries and an ardent supporter of Jesse Jackson, thinks it has already happened: "The Democratic Party is nothing more than a black party run by white people."

In Greenwood last Tuesday Franklin was campaigning at the Whitaker furniture store. The TV cameras rolled as Franklin shook hands with three black men. Were they supporters? Not exactly. They worked for Mrs. Whitaker, a staunch Franklin backer. Privately, hesitantly, they acknowledged they planned to vote for Clark. But Franklin talks of winning 20 percent of the black vote, arguing that those who are working don't

want to pay taxes and also share the conservative politics of whites.

"There isn't a Democratic or Republican Party," Grenada county Republican chairman George Dinkelacker said as he observed the scene. "We're either conservative or liberals. Taxes are high enough. My children had to give everything to people who don't want to do anything." Few Republicans run at the local level, and Dinkelacker admitted, "nobody could convince me to vote against Sonny Montgomery," the conservative Democrat in the next district.

Indeed, although Clark and his staff are fairly satisfied with state and national Democratic Party help, Senate candidate Winter is the only white Democratic officeholder or candidate from the state to publicly back Clark. Many local Democratic officials privately support Franklin.

But Clark angrily denies that the white abandonment of the Democratic Party is a conservative move. "It's racism. It's not conservative," he said. "Black folk are conservative. I'm conservative. Conservative does not mean to be against, to take advantage of the elderly, to hate because of race. That's not conservative. I don't know why Webb Franklin says he's conservative when he's one of the most notorious spenders in Congress. He thinks it's conservative to take from starving children and old folk while padding the pockets of the defense contractors."

But the combination of racism, mili-

tarism, right-wing economics, distaste for all government social spending, rabid anti-Communism and a religious fundamentalism appeals to many whites in the area, who are increasingly finding their home in the Republican Party. Clark can count mainly on younger, better educated whites, some whites with a stake in education or other social services, and a few diehard "true Democrats," to whom Clark regularly appeals. Whites may have left the Democratic Party for racist reasons, but since a black candidate would surely be to the left of traditional Democrats, they left for ideological reasons as well. The whites who remain loyal are mainly liberal or "progressive."

Jane Curran, a music teacher at Delta State University for the past seven years, was one of five whites at the small rally in St. Paul's Baptist church last week. She had escorted Clark around campus, where a group of 70 students—about half white—listened to him.

"I latched on to him because I figured a black man would be for the ERA," she said. "He would never say he's pro-choice, but he says the place for the decision about unwanted pregnancies is in the home and church. Also, it's so important we get rid of this black-white stuff." The "stuff" is still potent: whites who will vote for Clark are rarely willing to show support publicly.

The obvious heart of the campaign is the black community. Jackson's candidacy brought a new spark, and there is a young generation of educated leaders,

some returning to the South from other parts of the country, many of them voting rights lawyers, community organizers and economic development specialists. Jackson's model and other pressures have also brought many more ministers and churches into the campaign this time.

"The leaders in the black community are the elderly and they feel the pinch of the present administration," explains Bolivar County campaign chairman Willie Simmons. "The ministers recognize this, and the minister wants to satisfy those people. He can't afford to sit by while his flock is suffering."

Rev. E.C. William, minister of St. Peter's in Greenville and moderator of the county Baptist churches, gives money from the church and talks about the campaign from his pulpit. "It's part of life. We need to get involved," he said.

"When Robert Clark campaigned before, I did same as now—pushed hard," he continued. "I used influence, asked people to please vote. I told them anybody who didn't have a way to the polls, this phone will be open and a van will be here all day election day. It looks like people are more concerned than in 1982. The whole thing in a nutshell: the Republican Party has made them more concerned."

They also appear to be better organized, using the paid staff (it was all volunteers working on short notice last time) to organize civic groups, clubs, churches and individuals into a means of getting out the vote. Earlier many groups, such as the longstanding voters' leagues in many cities, worked with the Voter Education Project (VEP) to register voters. Although figures for the second district were not yet available, statewide registration from all sources was up 12 percent, representing 184,000 new voters.

In the last election, George Hooper, statewide coordinator for VEP, said, there were many 70 percent black precincts with only 25 percent or less turnout. When the state ended requirements of registration in both the city and county last summer, the task of reaching the 50,000 or more unregistered blacks was made easier. But few city clerks were willing to deputize extra registrars to go into the precincts. VEP will educate voters on how to mark paper ballots so they will not be voided and will encourage absentee voting by students, the incapacitated, and members of the military.

In the 1982 election, some blacks may have—quite wrongly—assumed that since Clark was the Democratic nominee, he would be elected, as all Democrats had previously. But there appears to be a heightened awareness now of the importance of the election. "The greatest fall-out from Bob's first race was to create the consciousness that we need someone in Washington who is sympathetic to our interests," Larry Farmer, director of MACE (Mississippi Action for Community Education), said. "With a lot of rank-and-file blacks, it just started hitting home the last couple of years."

Clark, who just turned 55, is on the campaign trail long days, always making sure to be home each night so that he can get up at 5 a.m. to go over schoolwork with his two sons. He cares for them by himself since his wife died two years ago. He seems well-liked among blacks and whites who know him, but there is a nagging worry in some quarters that he is not exciting the black community enough. That charge angers him. Clark may not be a Jesse Jackson—who is?—but he stirs more enthusiasm than most candidates do. More than that, he is a bridging figure—a black legislator who has worked closely with whites, a politician linking the early civil rights days and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party epoch to the new Jackson-influenced younger politicians.

How hard that emerging awareness of the need for political representation has hit, how well the campaign organization works on election day and how many whites will vote for a black candidate who would vote more consistently to the left than any other southern member of Congress—all that will be crucial in determining whether the new Delta will emerge this year or be forced to wait.

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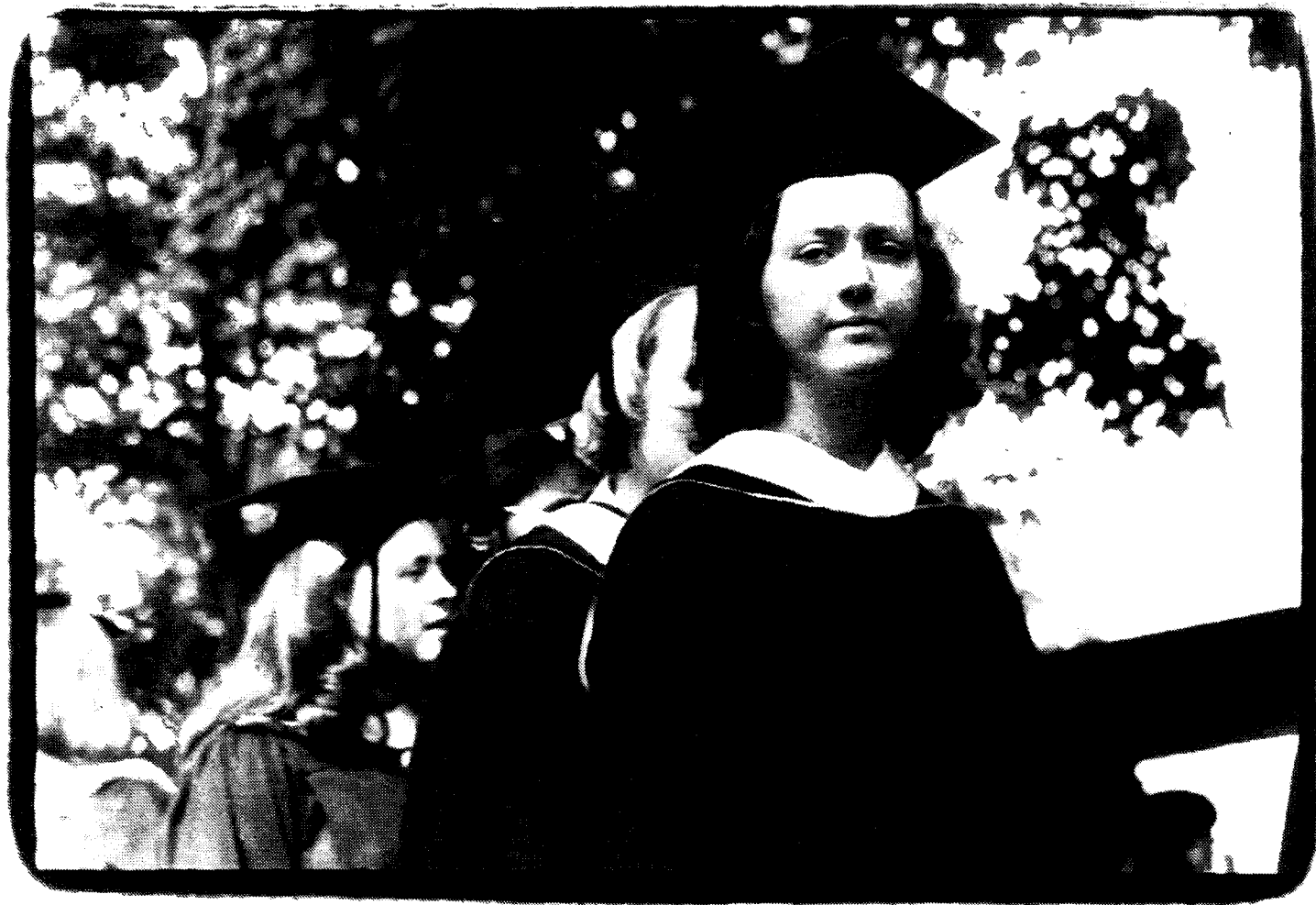
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POLITICS

Why students favor Reagan



The 18-to-24-year-old age group is more Republican than any other group. In a recent poll, 31 percent of 18-to-24-year-olds identified themselves as such.

By John B. Judis

COLLEGE PARK, MD

RONALD REAGAN IS EVEN more popular among today's college students than John Kennedy was among the students of the early '60s. He appears to be attaining the stature of a cult figure.

Four students interviewed by *In These Times* at the University of Maryland last week confirmed this phenomenon. Those interviews, along with *Los Angeles Times* national election polls with age breakdowns, confirm that the student vote this year cannot be understood in ordinary political terms.

The *Los Angeles Times* breakdown of the 18-to-24-year-old vote reveals several seeming inconsistencies. The 18-to-24-year-old group is the most pro-Reagan of any age group. In a poll taken after the October 10 debate between Rep. Geraldine Ferraro and Vice President George Bush, 74 percent of the respondents (and 80 percent of the males) approved of Reagan's job in office. Only 22 percent disapproved.

The 18-to-24-year-old group is also the most Republican. When people were asked whether they were Republicans, Democrats or Independents, 31 percent of the 18-to-24-year-olds identified themselves as Republicans, compared with only 21 percent of the 30-to-39-year-old "baby boomers" and 26 percent of the 65-year old-and-over voters.

But the 18-to-24-year-old voters are more likely to identify themselves as liberals. When asked about political ideology, 37 percent of the 18-to-24 year olds identify themselves as liberals and 33 percent as conservatives. By contrast, only 29 percent of the baby boomers and 18 percent of the 65 and over identify themselves as liberals.

Female 18-to-24-year-olds tend to be slightly more "liberal," less Republican and less approving of Reagan (a 68 to 23 percent approval rating), but not enough to shake Reagan's hold over this age group, nor to disrupt the pattern of political choices.

The poll results pose this question: how can the same voters who disproportionately identify themselves as liberal disproportionately support Reagan and identify

themselves as Republican? One explanation could be that these voters understand "liberalism" to be a social and moral philosophy rather than an economic or political one.

In deciding among candidates and parties, however, these voters do not give great weight to what stand a candidate takes on issues such as abortion and school prayer. They support Reagan and the Republican Party in spite of their disagreement with him on these issues.

Reagan's leadership.

The students at Maryland displayed the same curious blend of political attitudes. The four students *In These Times* interviewed, with the help of *New Republic* staff writer Chuck Lane, were all campus leaders. Betsy White is vice president of the Student Government Association, Mark Lipton is president of the University Commuter Association, Sharon Schwartz is treasurer of the Resident Hall Association and Gary Yerman is the director of Student Services.

Only White, the blonde, cheerful daughter of a steel executive, described herself as a Republican and a conservative. Lipton, Schwartz and Yerman said that they were registered Democrats and would probably remain so after the election. Schwartz was still undecided, but leaning toward Reagan. The rest were solidly in favor of the president's re-election.

Their views were representative of the Maryland campus, which has been and continues to be solidly Democratic, but which is two-to-one in favor of Reagan over Mondale in campus polls.

The four students agreed on what they liked most about Reagan: he is a strong leader. But in praising his leadership, they did not refer to his role in policymaking but to his role as titular representative of the nation.

Mark Lipton said, "What's important about Reagan is that he appears to be a leader."

Sharon Schwartz concurred, "Reagan looks good, acts good. He's charismatic, and other countries fear him."

The students believe that Reagan's greatest accomplishment has been to unite the country and to make Americans feel good about themselves. "Reagan has made us feel better about being Americans," Lipton said.

But the students also supported Reagan's broad economic and foreign policies, except on nuclear arms. They credited the economic recovery to Reagan's policy of "turning the free enterprise system loose." They shared the administration's view that the Soviet Union is trying to take over the world and that the U.S. role is merely defensive. "The Soviet Union is always starting fires. We're always putting them out," White said.

They said they are not terribly concerned about the administration's policy in Central America, believing that whatever the administration decides to do there, it will do on the basis of better information than they have available themselves. "We have to put our faith in a leader we elect," Schwartz said.

But the students had considerable qualms about other aspects of Reagan's beliefs and administration policy. Schwartz, a Catholic, supported Reagan's stand against abortion, but disapproved of the "waste in the Pentagon." The other three students vehemently opposed what they called Reagan's "moral views." Gary Yerman, the son of a Washington D.C. accountant, said, "Reagan's one detriment is his moral position. I'm worried about his being able to appoint Supreme Court justices. These are guys who are going to be around a long time after he's dead."

Lipton agreed. "Why are our private lives any of the government's business?"

Lipton, White and Schwartz also solidly back the nuclear freeze, which they see as a moral rather than a political issue. "It's the best thing that could happen," Lipton said.

They disliked Mondale because he was weak (Yerman called him a "little push-over") and because of his allegiance to special interests. But while Schwartz, who described herself as an individualist, was concerned about the political influence of all "reference groups," the other three students appeared to be concerned about the particular interest groups to which they believed Mondale had sworn allegiance.

Yerman, Lipton and White acknowledged that they would be far more inclined to back the political recommendation of the Business Roundtable—or a comparable group of business leaders—than the endorsement of labor leaders.

Lipton, who described himself as com-

ing from a liberal Jewish family in New York, granted Mondale one advantage over Reagan: he was, Lipton said, "more concerned about the have-nots than Reagan is." But White and Yerman expressed disdain for such concern. "My attitude to the poor is, 'get a job,'" Yerman said.

Lipton, Schwartz and Yerman were not willing to call themselves conservatives. They distinguished their economic from their moral or social views. "I'm economically conservative and liberal on moral issues like abortion and school prayer," Yerman said.

Generational politics.

There have been two different explanations of the 18-to-24-year-olds' allegiance to Reagan and their peculiar mix of liberal and conservative opinions. One view attributes this to the generation into which these students were born. They became politically conscious after the Vietnam war and even Watergate had subsided and have based their politics entirely on the experience of the Carter and Reagan administrations. At the same time, their social views have been molded by the continuing erosion in metropolitan areas of traditional morality and custom. They are a generation that worships both Ronald Reagan and Boy George.

The second explanation attributes the students' views to their place in the life-cycle. The young tend to back insurgents rather than established candidates; they eschew the middle-of-the-road; they are less concerned about specific policies than philosophical or social principles.

Both explanations account for students' current attitudes.

The Maryland students referred back repeatedly to the "dismal" Carter years. Lipton said, "I'll never forget how bad I felt when Carter was in, even though I didn't know what he was doing." They had little knowledge of the Vietnam war and refused to judge it in retrospect. Their attitude toward the administration's policy in Central America—it's not very important, and the president must know what he is doing—is precisely the attitude that students of the early '60s had toward American policy in Southeast Asia. The lesson of a generation has been lost.

The students' emphasis on leadership and national self-satisfaction partly re-

Said a student at Maryland: "Reagan looks good, acts good. He's charismatic and other countries fear him."

flects their age rather than their generation. They also see Reagan rather than Mondale as the anti-establishment insurgent. They back Reagan against Mondale in the same spirit they backed Sen. Gary Hart against Mondale. And of all age groups, they are least inclined to think of themselves as "middle of the road."

But there is also a broader political trend that accounts for the 18-to-24-year-old vote. The youth vote is the surest sign yet of the eclipse of liberal Democratic politics, whose success had been based on the promise of prosperity through government intervention and the pride of world leadership in the fight against Communism.

When students like those at Maryland look back over the Carter years, they do not weigh Carter's accomplishments against Reagan's. If they did, they might find Reagan wanting in both economic and foreign policy. They see Carter's failures as following from his political ideology and Reagan's successes as follow-

Continued on page 22



Facundo Guardado, commander of the Popular Forces of Liberation (FPL)

EL SALVADOR

Guerrilla leaders talk about the war, the dialog and peace

By Mary Jo McConahay

SAN SALVADOR

THE CONFLICT IN EL SALVADOR shifted dramatically when President Jose Napoleon Duarte met for the first time with representatives of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and its political arm, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) at the church in La Palma on October 15, in a zone dominated by the guerrillas. (See *In These Times* Oct. 24.)

As Salvadorans look ahead to the next meeting, scheduled for the second half of November, events here are intensifying both tension and hope. Lt. Col. Domingo Monterrosa, who was a pillar of support for Duarte within the army and the archetype of the kind of political officer the U.S. is trying to create in El Salvador, was killed in a helicopter crash on October 23 along with 13 others. On October 21, auxiliary Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez called for Salvadorans to organize a peace caravan bearing white flags to cross the small country along the Pan American Highway some 150 miles from San Salvador to San Miguel on November 21.

In the name of participating in the peace process—suddenly a legitimate activity—the FMLN has called for “Committees of Dialog” to be organized in neighborhoods, churches and work groups.

“In the field of politics we have opened a space for organization, mobilization and political expression for the popular

masses,” announced *Radio Venceremos* on October 17.

Immediately the parties of the right, apparently feeling backed into a corner because of popular support for La Palma, lashed out against Duarte and the dialog, demanding to know the government’s position on the legality of “Committees of Dialog.”

In the hours after the La Palma meeting, several journalists who had come down from the mountains for the event traveled a sharply ascending, muddy red clay road by truck and on foot for two hours to a hamlet called Miramundo, in Chalatenango province. There the journalists met with the commanders who represented the FMLN at La Palma: Ferman Cienfuegos, commandante of the National Resistance (RN); Eduardo Sancho Castaneda, commandante of the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN); Facundo Guardado, commandante of the Popular Forces of Liberation (FPL); Nidia Diaz, commandante of the Central American Workers Party (PRTC); and Commandante Lucio Rivera of the Armed Liberation Forces (FAL).

In a question-and-answer session held in a cold, damp cement house and in informal conversations later that night and the next morning at dawn before they returned to their bases, the commanders spoke of the conduct of the war, the attitude of the Salvadoran army and of their own thoughts on democracy and elections—themes that are certain to figure in the next discussions with the government. The following are excerpts

from those discussions.

(Editor’s note: Guillermo Ungo and Ruben Zamora, who represented the FDR, left the country by plane immediately after the meeting for security reasons. Their protection could not be guaranteed, they said.)

Facundo Guardado:

We think of La Palma as the beginning of the process of a political solution to the conflict, but we cannot predict how much time it is going to take to reach this political solution by way of the dialog.

The objective of this process is the conquest of peace. Yet this first step was taken without preconditions on either part. At this moment neither party is proposing a ceasefire. But as long as the process goes along step by step and the agreements are respected, peace is going to be achieved.

Do you trust Duarte?

Our trust is deposited in the people. It is they who are making the demands and mobilizing themselves toward this political solution. As for what Duarte can do, we neither could, nor want to advance an opinion. What he actually is capable of doing is going to be clear as events develop. We hope that Duarte is acting in good faith in this process, and that it is not only for the purpose of gaining political time.

Even though we are optimistic about the October 15 dialog, and those that are coming up, we don’t want to give our people illusions. As I said, no ceasefire is

proposed. There is no immediately foreseeable decrease of military hostilities on either side, because this is not a condition. We have not abandoned our conception of the fight, which continues to be of a political-military character. We are not abandoning the armed fight, nor the political fight, nor the diplomatic fight.

As for the political solution, we have not closed ourselves off to anything entirely. We still have not agreed to participate in elections, but neither have we rejected participation. The elections, in any case, ought to be part of an entire process. The next step is the next meeting and the incorporation of the people into the dialog process by way of distinct political instruments, because we believe that the people ought to participate directly.

We believe that the creation of “Committees of Dialog” is going to spread, especially in the cities, in the barrios and urban neighborhoods, among the trade unions and among the workers in the countryside. It is going to happen and it is natural, because the entire population wants dialog, wants peace—peace with bread, liberty and social justice.

We can’t affirm that this dialog that has been initiated is irreversible. We want it to continue, but we are waiting to see the attitude of the counterparts because the results do not depend only on one party.

Ferman Cienfuegos:

What is important today is that the meeting took place after years during which the government didn’t recognize one of the parties in the conflict. In this country, in fact, there is no central power. What there is are two powers, two armies and two important forces. So the government doesn’t represent the entire state. But in the dialog, the Salvadoran government recognized for the first time our representative force.

On elections and democracy.

The FMLN-FDR is disposed to enter elections, but for that there must be conditions. This is the process that must be discussed. What are the conditions? What is the atmosphere? It is not a matter simply of going into the voting urns.

Democracy begins with the participation of parties, individuals and fronts. There are new forms of organization that are much more ample than a party. For example, the National Opposition Union, which won elections twice, was a coalition front, and constitutionally not a party. (Editor’s note: In 1972 the coalition, which ran Duarte and Ungo for president and vice president, was leading when the government stopped the vote count, and another candidate became president in a blatant case of fraud.) It is not in the voting urns that the will of the people is decided, but rather in their real participation, in their actual mobilization. Without that, the popular sectors are taught that election day is their only day of political participation, and then those who are elected do things for them: this is the paternalistic concept of government.

We define the democracy we conceive of as pluralist. But it is participative in the sense that the population has to have the forms of concrete organization in their hamlet, town or neighborhood that permit them to reconstruct the country. Our idea is that democracy is not going to be erected on the heads of the leaders, but rather that it is going to be built around the actual question of national reconstruction.

For instance, nearby here there was a bombing. [Local residents said government forces bombed Miramundo last month. A 17-year-old girl and a young boy were killed.] Now it is necessary to reconstruct the houses and to form a committee of people from here to do it. Because that is where it starts, do you understand me? Communal work is participatory and fully democratic. People must be persuaded that this is a problem of the community and not of the state.

Political parties only represent the interests of factions of people. What is needed for national construction is a



up operations" for it, but that term simply means to destroy all types of animal and vegetable life. It is "scorched earth" and it is the concept of the counterinsurgency that is being used here. They are not using it in clear-cut ways, however, because they don't want to show their whole hand. So they are doing it selectively. Thus the idea of counterinsurgency is being introduced into the minds of the officers and it goes along with converting the army into an anti-national army.

It is in this sense then that the counterinsurgency war is anti-national: it is against the nation because it is for destroying it. It is also a war of submission. This army has reached such dependency that it is the generals of the southern command who explain and handle the development of the war: the best reading we have done on how the war is going comes from the generals. The balance of the war is maintained by the North Americans because those here are only on the receiving end, now that they have them dependent mentality.

For example, look at military intelligence. The people don't give the army information and that is why they need those airplanes that fly overhead here with radar and infra-red lenses to detect heat and the movement of troops. The army's attitude is a truly shameful one because it practically delivers itself over [to the Americans] and this is an army that ought to have national dignity and national pride. Those planes are supposed to detect great movements of troops. Our battalions and brigades move safely from one side to the other of this small territory.

Nidia Diaz:

After the enemy's so-called clean-up operations we always contact the population, whether in zones of control or disputed zones. There, in direct communication with them, we take accounts of the attitudes of the army, the behavior of the soldiers and the officers in command from the companies to the battalions, and we compare their reactions with those of the high command.

The soldiers who go as cannon fodder are not of the elite battalions but rather the traditional brigades, structured into hunter battalions (*cazadores*). Their morale is very low. They are in an attitude of permanent confrontation with the high command, in the sense that it is they who are living in danger, who are putting forth their lives and who have to suffer the direct consequences in confrontations with us.

We also hear about the unjust treatment they receive and maltreatment and punishments in the barracks, and threats to the family [to keep young men from deserting]. In the demands of the [FMLN-FDR] platform, we called for an end to the repressive attitude of the high command against soldiers and an end to physical punishment and actions against the family, to the extent that the [American-trained] Atlacatl even comes to kidnap family members. They don't get the benefits they should get, such as salaries, or even caskets. If you listen to the news on the radio you hear that a soldier kills himself here and another commits suicide there. You then understand the army's attitude and morale.

Fernan Cienfuegos:

On sectors of the army.

(Editor's note: A very small right-wing sector of the army, called the "Historical Fascist" group, is aligned with Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson.)

The sector most on the rise is the one that is less nationalistic and more submissive [to the U.S. strategy]. It is the sector so penetrated with the ideology of the war of counterinsurgency that the military man sees it as the only question. This sector is the least politicized. It sees the whole thing technically and has no political party alliance. It doesn't see national interests, only the techniques of applied military art. This is the sector that is taking the reins.

But some in the army are just beginning to see that an army is not for inter-

Continued on page 22

united front. Duarte is thinking that the answer is to go to the polls. But the fundamental thing is that reconstruction is not going to happen with traditional parties who only tell their militants to come along to a meeting or support them in a campaign. The sense of the organization of political parties and a united national front is very different.

People are not spectators in the dialog. Many desire and aspire to peace, but it is not something that comes along like a Christmas present.

On the conduct of the war and the counterinsurgency.

People should not be waiting for something spectacular. There have been very important strikes. So some people are waiting for the next big one thinking, "Well, last time they destroyed the brigade of El Paraiso. The next strike is going to be three brigades!" But this is not the natural rhythm of the war. It has its own laws—which clearly are secret.

But it is no secret to say that we are combining the irregular with the regular. We are combining it with North American strategies that are in any military book. They have put a battalion of military intelligence spying on us. They are analyzing the intelligence in the Panama Canal. The Pentagon has thousands of men analyzing. All the North American military apparatus is analyzing....

But what is happening is that the U.S. has come here to put itself into a war in which they have not learned the lesson of history. I don't know if there is anyone who might be able to explain this to Mr. Reagan. Our people have their dignity, and they are learning new forms of meeting the stages of the war that the enemy introduces.

They are introducing stages of scorched earth—each one more criminal than the last. If you have a chance, come with us—although sometimes it is difficult to come with us—to see how they are leveling the lands, to see how they destroy everything in the zones, to see that there are zones that are no longer populated and are completely burned out.

Neither is it a secret—the advisors know it well—that our people are learning to live under the earth. They bring scorched earth, and our people construct their cities under the earth.

We are reaching out to the limits of the resources that only the ingenuity of the people themselves can create. And we are overcoming these new counterinsurgency techniques at each step, meeting each stage with a new strategy of our own.

The problem is that as we go along meeting and destroying each level of escalation, they are thinking about the mechanism of intervention. They are trying to figure out how to use the Presidential War Powers Act, which gives them three months here. But they don't know what it is like in our territory. They believe that in three months they can resolve the thing by putting in combat troops, three months and it would be done. But they would be in quicksand.

They elevate the step, and we refine the answering tactic.

They say in the international press that there are no actions going on, or that our actions are very small. But we can wait.

Guerrilla war is a powerful instrument to destroy the counterinsurgency army and its operations because it causes an immense destruction of their forces. Daily they are dying in this country. Only the day before the La Palma meeting, on October 14, 36 [Salvadoran army] soldiers died at just one point. That day about 70 or 80 soldiers died altogether, and that is not taking into account the injured. You have to see the cost to them of guerrilla war in the number of men who die, in the low morale of the army, in the fact that it no longer wants to fight. They know that they are being defeated, step by step.

In this country the conduct of the war is in the hands of the [American] advisors, and not the [Salvadoran] high command. It is not Salvadorans who direct the war: this is fundamental to understanding the phenomenon. In recent months the advisors have encouraged of-

ficers to believe that it is possible to win the war if the armed forces number 50,000 between now and the year 1986, and if they use helicopter transport and heavy artillery units. But we have learned to use a law: that of fighting much with little. And we learned it from the beginning, in 1970 when the armed fight began.

The counterinsurgent solution is essentially anti-popular. For when they [the enemy] bomb a house and kill a family, they may say it is a technical error. But the problem of counterinsurgency is that it is formed within an inhuman anti-person framework. Take, for example, the abuses of power that result in massacres. The essence of the counterinsurgency war is not to consider human beings. They invented the phrase "clean-

Said Facundo Guardado: "Our idea is that democracy is not going to be erected on the heads of the leaders, but rather that it is going to be built around the actual question of reconstruction."

EDITORIAL

It's not difficult to figure out who lost the foreign policy debate between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale a week ago Sunday. It was the American people. And the reason for our loss is clear. It is because Mondale agreed in principle with everything Reagan said he was doing and wanted to do, and tried to make the issue who could do it better.

Given Mondale's personal style and his popular association with Jimmy Carter, this was a sure loser—as we've argued frequently in recent months. But the American people's loss is not just the probability that Reagan has stopped Mondale's momentum—serious as that is—but that we have once again been deprived of any serious discussion of the goals of our foreign policy and of the role of the United States in the international community.

This should have come as no surprise, however, for Mondale has always been a supporter of the underlying assumptions of the Cold War and has always championed the United States' role in the world as the guardian of large-scale corporate capitalism. The irony is that he actually would, in all probability, do the job better than Reagan, and that in the present political context—given the alternatives actually available—both the rulers of Corporate America and the vast majority of the American people would be better off with Mondale in charge. He is, after all, much more knowledgeable, much more cautious and much more sensitive to world opinion. All of which is to say that he is much less ideological than Reagan, and therefore less likely to trigger a disastrous war either in Central America or with the Soviets.

Even so, this country needs a basic re-examination of its foreign policy while there still is time. And that re-examination can and should take place in the most public arena possible. This was one of the things that the Rev. Jesse Jackson began to do in the Democratic Party primary campaign, and it is something that will have to be resumed after the election, whoever wins.

Roots of foreign policy.

Before World War I, the U.S. was still a relatively minor power in a world dominated by the British empire. But by the end of the war, with Germany defeated, Russia in the throes of revolution and Britain and France in debt to American manufacturers, the U.S. emerged as first among a concert of world powers. This new position led more thoughtful American leaders to define the nation's role.

Even before the war, Woodrow Wilson had written that since trade ignores national boundaries "and the manufacturer insists in having the world as a market, the flag of his nation must follow him, and the doors of the nations that are closed against him must be battered down." Concessions obtained by financiers, he wrote "must be safeguarded by ministers of state, even if the sovereignty of unwilling nations be outraged in the process. Colonies must be obtained or planted, in order that no useful corner of the world" be "left unused."

Wilson saw this as a description of imperialism when he wrote it in 1907. He did not believe in an imperialism that led to permanent territorial or commercial claims—especially since the European imperial powers already had divided up most of the world and had closed off markets that American capital sought to enter. But Wilson did believe in the use of American power, both economic and military, to help shape the internal politics of what his close friend and advisor, Colonel Edward M. House, called "the waste places of the earth...those unhappy countries which are now misgoverned and exploited both at home and abroad."

Before the U.S. entered the war, Wilson had used American power in Mexico in an attempt to channel its revolution toward a liberal political system like that in the U.S. And when the U.S. entered the Great War it was, in his mind, to re-



Back on track with neo-colonialism

make the world in the American image. Wilson's call for self-determination of all nations was to mean an end to colonialism and the opening of the world's markets to anyone who could compete successfully.

But the Bolshevik revolution in November 1917 changed everything. From the beginning Wilson was determined not to recognize this form of self-determination, and to do whatever he could to defeat it, even to the extent of giving aid to the old czarist forces of which he had earlier disapproved. And in the face of the threat that the revolution might spread to India and other colonies, anti-colonialism took a back seat.

Robert Lansing, Wilson's Secretary of State, explained why a government that believed in political institutions "based on nationality and private property" had to avoid recognition of "these dangerous idealists" in Russia. Any sign of diplomatic recognition, Lansing wrote in a private memorandum, would only encourage Bolshevik sympathizers in other lands to sweep away social distinctions and traditional political and religious institutions, thus leaving "the ignorant and incapable mass of humanity dominant in the earth."

To prevent that, Wilson, along with Britain and France, gave aid to the reactionary generals in Russia and even sent troops to help them, thereby prolonging the Civil War that followed the Revolution and helping reinforce conditions of repression and military rule there. But, of course, they did not defeat the Revolution, even if they succeeded in making it harsher and possibly less democratic than it might otherwise have been.

Wilson's plans to lead the world to an

era of liberal capitalism foundered on the Allies' defense of their commercial interests in Europe and the colonies, and on the defeat of the League of Nations treaty in the U.S. Senate. For the next 20 years the U.S. played a relatively minor role in world affairs.

Free World leader.

At the end of World War II, the U.S. finally emerged as the world's leading power, responsible not only for the defense of its own interests, as American leaders perceived them, but for the defense of the entire capitalist world. But the war also saw the spread of revolution and the projection of the Soviet Union into a more prominent role in world affairs.

With China in the throes of revolution, and with the world colonial systems threatening to come apart at the seams,

Reagan, the great ideologue of free enterprise and anti-communism, made it clear in his recent debate with Mondale that he knows the bottom line.

the defense of empire, formal and informal, became the first order of business. But having fought two world wars as wars against tyranny and for democracy, the defense of empire could hardly be presented as such. Thus Winston Churchill's Fulton, Mo., speech that kicked off the Cold War in 1947. From that point on, defense of commercial interests in Europe and the Third World was to become a defense of "freedom" against the totalitarianism of anti-capitalist revolution. And the U.S., being the only power capable of doing so, was to play the central role in this defense.

Given the ideological nature of this struggle, American presidents from Harry Truman on preferred to support democratic regimes throughout the world. It looked better. But the bottom line was to oppose revolution that threatened a break away from post-war neo-colonialism. So, more often than not, the most brutal oligarchies became the allies and protectorates of the U.S., while governments moving toward democracy were subverted through commercial pressures, or simply overthrown. The list is a long one: Mossadegh's Iran, Lumumba's Congo, Arbenz' Guatemala, Goulart's Brazil—right on up to Allende's Chile and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

All this, of course, was done in the name of democracy and in opposition to totalitarianism, and it was mostly successful until the Vietnam war made clear both the hypocrisy and the dangerously high cost in human life and suffering involved in being the defender of the "free world." The popular reaction to Vietnam was severe, enough so that the CIA was forced to cut back on its subversive activities overseas, and the issue of human rights in international affairs began to have some substance.

But this "post-Vietnam" syndrome was seen by many men in power as a serious threat to their ability to keep world control. To try to get things back on track, a counterattack on this new soft-headed and soft-hearted attitude toward international affairs was needed. Enter Ronald Reagan, stage right.

Ronald Reagan, of course, is the great ideologue of free enterprise and anti-Communism. But even so, as he made clear in the foreign policy debate, he knows the bottom line—defense of corporate interests. In Iran, he said attacking Carter administration policy, "the Shah had done our bidding and carried our load in the Middle East for quite some time." And, he added, it was a blot on our record that "we turned it over to a maniacal fanatic" like Khomeini—as if it were Carter and not the Iranian people who had rejected the Shah.

On the Philippines, too, Reagan made it clear that he would defend any "friendly" tyrant, and that he sees all attempts at social revolution or national independence as Communist plots. Speaking of the Marcos regime, he said, "I know there are things there in the Philippines that do not look good to us from the standpoint right now of democratic rights. But what is the alternative? It is a large Communist movement to take over the Philippines."

That is one difference between Mondale and Reagan. Mondale would look twice before supporting a tyrant like Marcos, just as he would more strenuously oppose apartheid in South Africa and the death squads in El Salvador.

That difference is important, and it is the only one we have this year. But it is also important whether or not the U.S. should put the interests of American corporate and financial institutions ahead of the rights of peoples throughout the world to decide for themselves what kind of societies they want. That issue, which is an issue of principle, has been absent from this campaign. Its absence is one reason why Walter Mondale has found it so difficult to arouse enthusiasm for his campaign from the traditional non-voters, especially Hispanics and blacks, whom he needs in order to win.

THEY TEST HORSES, DON'T THEY?

AT LEAST ONE DISCONCERTING QUESTION arises out of the Ferraro-Bush debate. Namely, was Vice President Bush on drugs, specifically "uppers"?

Bush has never been so effusive. His hyper enthusiasm and extravagant use of superlatives are certainly hallmarks of drug use.

And there are other clues. When Bush cranked out the phrase "whine on harvest moon" I wondered if this usually staid man of the upper class didn't have synapses popping that usually don't pop.

The clincher is in the aftermath, when commentators declared that Bush had "out Reaganed Reagan." Surely the man must have been deranged.

I propose that in all future presidential and vice-presidential debates, the participants submit to a saliva test. The test will measure the presence of any questionable substances.

—Gayle Lee Wind
Moorhead, Minn.

ENGAGEMENT

YOU SEEM TO ASSUME THAT NEARLY everyone who reads *In These Times* and plans to vote on November 6 will cast a ballot for Mondale-Ferraro. Yet support for the Democratic ticket is at best lukewarm. We need positive reporting to combat the despair and malaise about government that is common among the left. Mondale is no socialist, and he does not have a plan for our salvation, but we are voting for ourselves (and others who have been rendered nearly powerless by this present administration).

We are casting votes against Reagan and the defense mechanism of denial that he has made a national stance. Reagan and his crowd have denied the existence of poverty, hunger, the pollution of the environment, unemployment and underemployment and the possibility of nuclear war (to mention just a few). Reagan has left people to seek individual solutions to uneven economic development, while he plotted to end abortions and institute prayers in state institutions. Mondale's call for fairness makes sense because implicit in that is acknowledging injustices. The current residents of the White House categorically ignore these injustices. We have been shut out—denied an important avenue to contribute to the public good. It is possible that we can be more involved in government when Mondale and Ferraro win in November.

I'm going to the polls to elect officials who are concerned that nearly 15 percent of the American population is poor and that unemployment has scarred the lives of many. I'm voting for an administration that will address the critical issues, rather than wait for prosperity to trickle down. Mondale and Ferraro will engage others like myself in developing an analysis of our problems and shaping policy.

—Elizabeth Higginbotham
Memphis

CAN'T LOSE

JOAN WALSH—ON THE HATFIELD-HENDRIKSEN Senate campaign in Oregon—ignored two significant points. One is the unique nature of Hatfield's position as a GOP friend of the peace movement and as a major, decent Senate committee chair (Appropriations). It was Hatfield who managed to get nerve gas money removed from the budget last year—not my Democratic Senator John Glenn, who supported nerve gas production.

As a freeze activist, I can't justify abandoning the co-sponsor of the major freeze legislation in Congress. Lowell Weicker's votes improved after a tough re-election fight in 1982 and perhaps Hatfield's domestic ones would too.

Second is a question of timing. I'd love to see Hendriksen in the Senate, but did she have to run against Hat-

field? Bob Packwood would have been a much more logical target. I have been in the uncomfortable position of wanting Hendriksen to win but not wanting Hatfield to lose. He is the only GOP candidate I supported this year, and I feel he deserved the support of CLW and the rest of the peace movement. Toby Moffett picked the wrong time to run for Senate in Connecticut and I feel Hendriksen has mistimed this run.

But the peace movement really can't lose in this Senate race. Either a liberal Republican will be re-elected or we will get a progressive Democrat. The difference will be in the increased representation for women—and better domestic positions—that Hendriksen would provide.

—Mim Jackson
Kent, Ohio

MUSCLE

TOO BAD THE CITIZENS PARTY IS GOING the route of left splinters—running candidates for national office who haven't got a chance, and are thus not taken seriously. The party's vice presidential candidate, Richard Walton, explained his purpose in a "Perspective" (ITT, Oct. 17): "Sonia and I are not running primarily for votes. That would be silly.... We are running to raise... issues and perhaps more important, to keep alive the dream of progressive, humane and democratic government."

Friends, this is no dream, it is a possibility—but only if people on the left take themselves seriously enough to let others take them seriously. The Citizens Party should not waste scarce resources on protest candidates for president to get attention. Political strength will emerge from basic organizing and credibility at the local, county and perhaps state level, where quite a number of serious progressives have won election in recent years. Walton's sense of priorities are way off. The left doesn't need the Citizens Party as a "national political voice." It needs political muscle. Otherwise, it's all talk and no action; all hope and no possibilities.

—Fred Clarkson
Washington, D.C.

PETERS' HOAX

MANY THANKS FOR RUNNING Norman Finkelstein's excellent dissection of Joan Peters' anti-Palestinian hoax (ITT, Sept. 5). Peters' work is indeed one of the more vulgar hoaxes fostered on the American public since Arthur Butz' 1976 work that attempted to prove that there was no holocaust. *From Time Immemorial* is on a moral level with the above-mentioned example, besides being fraudulently selective and misquoting or quoting documents out of context. There is nothing new in attempting to minimize or even deny the substantial non-Jewish population

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

that has always existed in the area known as Palestine. The fact that Peters was forced to rely on the totally inaccurate Turkish censuses, which largely did not count women, children or Bedouins and was evaded by tax farmers, draft age males, etc. is evidence of her attempt to commit intellectual fraud. All the relevant, British censuses are ignored, minimized or lifted out of context.

Peters' anecdotal account of what she claims to be "typical" Jewish experiences living under Arab rule sounds like a Tass reporter doing an "objective" piece on life in the U.S., or a John Birch Society hack writing on the Nicaraguan revolution.

All Israeli atrocities against Palestinians are ignored or minimized by Peters. The 2,000,000 displaced Palestinians and the 200,000 Palestinians killed since 1948 do not rate even a mention.

One final note: Harper and Row has been promoting Joan Peters as someone who was previously sympathetic to the Palestinians and who "discovered" the truth to "her great surprise," etc. In fact, Peters wrote a venomously anti-Palestinian, anti-Arab piece in early 1975 for *Commentary*, called "The Myth of the 'Moderate' Egyptian." This piece was widely publicized at that time by Edith Efran, a right-wing hack in *TV Guide*. There is no evidence that Peters ever had either understanding or sympathy for the Palestinians.

—Michael P. Hardesty
Berkeley, Calif.

BUDD-DECKER

WAS MARY DECKER HOIST WITH HER own petard? That is my response to Dana Ward's letter (ITT, Sept. 26) in which he claimed, "It is the inexperienced Zola Budd who must bear the responsibility for dashing Decker's chance for the gold."

Ward's conclusion, derived from viewing of his personal "video copy of the race," is authoritatively refuted by

the verdict of the appeals jury of the International Amateur Athletic Federation, which had before them a full spread of the super-slo-mo reruns of the race. Quickly following the incident of an IAAF umpire, an American, disqualified Zola Budd. But subsequently (reported in the *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 11) upon British officials protesting the decision, Budd was reinstated in seventh place after an eight-member jury of officials reviewed films from eight angles for about 20 minutes.

As regards Ward's characterization of Budd as "inexperienced": within seconds of the incident American track commentators were saying that Budd was so inexperienced she never should have been allowed to compete in the Olympics. They changed their tune as soon as Budd was exonerated and declared that Decker, accustomed to being far out in front, had "no experience of running in a pack."

What was "Decker's chance for the gold"? In fact no better than that of the winner, Romania's Marica Puica, or of Zola Budd. Puica broke Decker's world mile record in 1982, and this year recorded the best 3,000-meter times of 8.33.57 and 8.35.96 (the latter in the L.A. Games). She also is the world's cross-country champion. Budd, in January 1984, clocked a time of 15.01.83 in the 5,000 meters, a full six seconds faster than Decker's world record. She qualified for the Olympics.

I was not predisposed in Budd's favor. I considered the British government's quick finagling of British citizenship to enable Budd to represent Great Britain to have been reprehensible in the extreme. But fair is fair.

D.L. Howard-Ady
Ojai, Calif.

CORRECTION

The photo on page 2, "Inside Story," ITT issue No. 34, should have been credited to Warren Friedman.

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STQ1



Der Spiegel

PERSPECTIVES

IRA 'Provos' strike back

By Tom Kiely

SECURITY FORCES IN NORTHERN Ireland have been anticipating an IRA assault since the beginning of October. The Irish nationalist guerrilla organization traditionally replies to setbacks with a show of strength. Such a setback came on September 29, when a trawler bearing a supply of guns and ammunition destined for the IRA was seized by the Irish Navy. The reply came two weeks later. A bomb was set off in the Brighton hotel where Britain's ruling Conservative Party was holding its annual conference. Four people were killed and 32 were injured in the blast.

But was this the awaited pay-back? According to police reports the bomb that nearly killed Margaret Thatcher may have been planted before the trawler was seized. And certainly the plot to install the bomb in Thatcher's bathroom was concocted weeks before the guns left their country of origin (probably the U.S.). In fact the IRA decision to set off its first major hit in England since the devastat-

ing Harrod's explosion of last year may be the first of many such attacks. The seven tons of arms seized off the coast of Kerry were meant to bolster their supplies in preparation for this probable new offensive.

The pressure on the IRA to step up their military campaign comes from within the organization. Their recent experiments with electoral politics (through Sinn Fein, the IRA's legitimate political wing) have both elated and troubled Republicans. They are elated because their electoral successes clearly indicate significant support among Catholic voters in Northern Ireland—disputing British pronouncements to the contrary. To further Sinn Fein's chances at the polls, the new IRA leadership (young, leftist and Northern, displacing the more conservative leaders, many of whom still reside in the Republic of Ireland) held military activity to a minimum. Attacks against the security forces continued, but their bombing campaign was drastically reduced. They feared that a mistake resulting in civilian casualties could harm their political goals. But the diminished activity apparently caused considerable strain within the movement, especially since the fight-

ing was curtailed in favor of elections.

The IRA's *raison d'être* is military activity. Even Sinn Fein candidates running for political seats declare that violence alone will drive the British from Ulster. The IRA cannot defeat a NATO nation's army, but continuous guerrilla activity makes the province ungovernable, placing an enormous strain on British finances and political interests. Republicans believe that Ireland will be united because in the end the British will have no other option but to leave.

When the new IRA leadership reversed the priorities from bombs to the ballot box, conservatives within the movement loudly opposed the move. Republicans do not recognize the legitimacy of either government created by the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, which divided the island into a 26-county free state and a six-county state loyal to the British Crown. Since to hold a seat in government is to recognize that government, Republicans have historically avoided the process. (Though intermittently Sinn Fein would contest an election for propaganda purposes, but with the understanding that the candidates would not participate in government if the seat was won). When Bobby Sands was elected to Parliament in 1981, Sinn Fein reconsidered their distance from electoral politics.

But Republicans of all persuasions remember that the ballot box—and left politics—divided the IRA in the late '60s. At that time, when Catholics in Northern Ireland followed Martin Luther King's lead and marched for their equality in the Protestant state, the IRA was as surprised as everyone else. The secret army had become weak and dispirited. Its membership was aging, military activity had ceased and the leadership had adopted what amounted to a Communist political line. When rioting began in Belfast and Derry, the Army Council urged Catholics not to avenge themselves on Protestants. They argued that the British could not be pushed from Ulster until Catholic and Protestant workers put aside their sectarian differences and recognized their common class interests. To Catholics in the ghettos, as well as to much of the rank and file, this was bizarre nonsense. The Prods were murdering them, the Finna Fail gov-

Military imagery illustrates the IRA rights' disdain for elections.

ernment in Dublin was silent, and now the IRA was telling them to put down the gun and instead work to elect Communists to political office. On walls in Belfast youths scrawled: "IRA = I Ran Away."

The army split the following year. The immediate issue dividing the membership was electoral politics—should Sinn Fein contest elections and take the seats it wins? But the deeper division was with politics, religion and tradition. The "Official" IRA was comprised of those who remained loyal to Dublin GHQ and to Marxist politics, whereas the breakaway "Provisional" IRA was anti-political, nationalist and Catholic. For a short time Officials and Provisionals competed for membership. But recruits flocked to the Provos; and the Northern communities supported the Provos. The Officials gradually withdrew from the North, and ceased military activity altogether. Today all IRA activity is the work of the Provos. (In the mid-'70s the Officials suffered another split. The Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) was formed by those who did not wish to abandon the gun.)

Now that the question of electoral politics has been raised once again, traditionalist Republicans point out that the gains the IRA has made in the ballot box have also been expensive. British propaganda capitalized on the lull in the violence. The story now is that the IRA is exhausted; that the newly reformed Royal Ulster Constabulary is gaining the upper hand; and that the counterinsurgency methods introduced by the British Army are paying off. Ulster *can* be governed; the IRA *can* be contained.

Moreover, Sinn Fein lost ground in the recent European elections. They will probably lose still more votes in the 1985 local elections as a result of the restrictive rules changes introduced by the Thatcher government to limit Sinn Fein's chances. The IRA worries that declining votes will be a propaganda disaster that will weaken morale.

All this has exacerbated the split among the IRA leadership. While the left wants to continue to build a broader political base through electoral politics and community projects, the right wants a return to (as a Republican quoted in a recent issue of *Magill* put it) "the types of operation which it [the IRA] was renowned for in the past."

Some observers believe that the results of the European elections may have tipped the balance in the right's favor. In an attempt to heal the divisions within—and ever mindful of how costly splits are—the IRA may launch a new offensive. Perhaps it began last week in Brighton. ■

Tom Kiely is a librarian in Massachusetts.

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(signed) James Weinstein
Publisher and Editor

By Jim Hightower

ONE TV NEWSCLIP YOU won't be seeing during coverage of this campaign: Ronald Reagan asking family farmers if they're better off today than they were four years ago. It's unfortunate, because the farmers' terse and unequivocal response might prove instructive to the president.

The rural economy hasn't been in such bad shape since Herbert Hoover left office and Reagan was still a Democrat. In 1983, inflation-adjusted net farm income plummeted to the lowest level of this century. In the same year, the cost of government farm programs reached record highs, exceeding in one year the combined costs of the programs during the eight years of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. The price of major farm commodities sank so low that, if farmers' only source of income in 1983 had been the sales of what they produced, they'd have lost \$5.2 billion.

Caught up in this Bonzonomic nightmare, family farmers are being forced off the land in record numbers. An estimated 200,000 farmers have left agriculture since Reagan took office. That's more farmers than now populate all of Texas, the nation's No. 3 agricultural producing state. The noose is being further tightened by Reagan's deficit-induced, record-high real interest rates and by three years of declining farm equity—the first in 27 years—resulting from drops in land values brought on by an understandable pessimism about agriculture's future.

If the statistics don't tell the whole story, there are plenty of pictures that do:

- Families watching silently as their farms are auctioned off;
- Boarded-up storefronts on Main Streets across rural America;
- Thousands of former John Deere and J.I. Case workers queued up in unemployment lines;
- Empty export loading docks;
- Half-full classrooms in small town schools;
- FDIC closure notices taped to the front doors of rural banks.

Adding insult to the very real injury they've caused, Reagan and Secretary of Agriculture John Block spent the summer doggedly pretending that the farm crisis didn't exist. Block faced audiences with speeches insisting that "farmers are living better than ever," even as farm foreclosures proceeded at a pace unequalled since the Depression.

"There aren't as many people in agriculture," Block conceded. "But those who are in it live better than they ever have been," he assured us while the average family-farm household's income plummeted to two-thirds that of non-farm households.

"As far as I'm concerned, the farm programs have done what they're supposed to do," Block bragged as we tried to absorb the following news: 60 percent of the government farm aid went to the largest 17 percent of U.S. farms; the USDA predicts that farm prices will continue to decline; and the Farm Credit Administration says the family farmer will be extinct in 10 years if present policies continue.

As the November election draws closer, however, news of the rural reality has belatedly penetrated the Reagan camp. Farmers had been openly snickering at Block's sanguine assessments, and the panic was mounting among GOP farm-state political strategists. Republican governors and members of Congress were knocking each other over in their scramble to the microphones to proclaim loudly their disagreement with Block.

Not even the *Wall Street Journal* could see it Block's way. Warning in mid-September that farm troubles were creating "political peril" for Republicans, the *Journal* neatly summarized the most glaring woes: depressed crop prices; a predicted "further price tumble" for the nation's biggest crop, corn; shrinking farm exports; predictions that farmers' net cash income may drop 15 percent this year; farm debt equal to or higher than

1983's "painful heights"; rising interest rates on farm operating loans; and 16 bank failures in eight major farming states this year "as agricultural loans have gone sour."

Republican Congressman Cooper Evans of Iowa even warned Reagan to cancel his scheduled visit to the Hawkeye State unless he brought along a farm-debt restructuring proposal.

Reagan responded by announcing with great fanfare a farm-debt "relief" program that amounted to applying a federal styptic pencil to the hemorrhaging farm economy. The hastily arranged announcement was so transparently political that even relieved Republican candidates must have blushed a bit. Reagan, however, actually managed to appear miffed by suggestions that his announcement was made to stave off the tar and feathers that Iowa farmers had awaiting him or to benefit panicky farm-state candidates.

Reagan's move proved even more cynical than was at first apparent. Currently authorized by Congress to grant three-

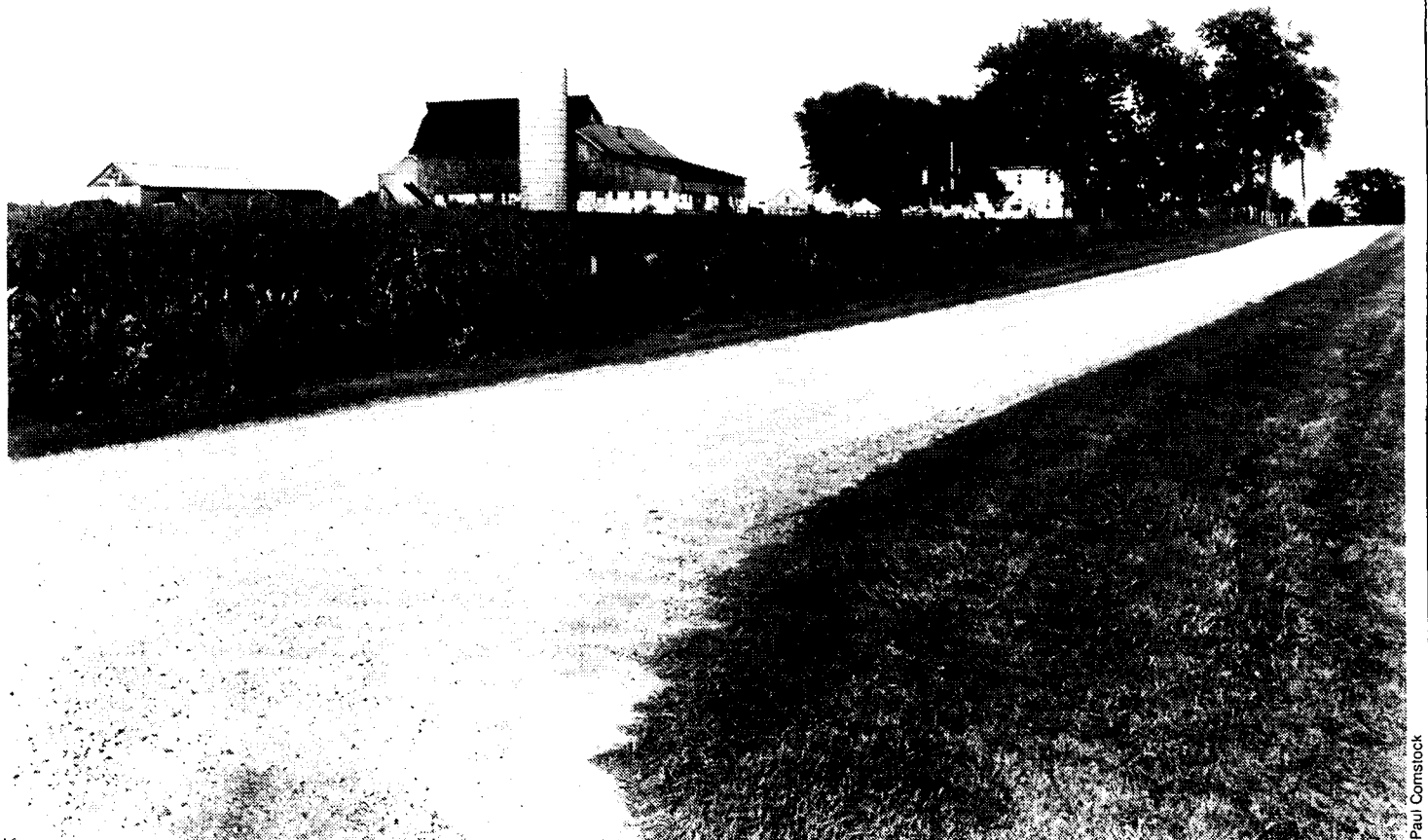
PERSPECTIVES

Noose tightens on the family farm

market" ideology to farm programs and drastically chopped financial incentives designed to discourage price-depressing overproduction of commodities. Predictably, the result in 1982 was record crops and surpluses that knocked the bottom out of the market. In a dizzying flip-flop, Block came up with the 1983 Payment-in-Kind (PIK) program. That program did help a few family farmers hold on by their fingernails but mostly allowed

up at the grocery check-out counter.

The distress of rural America isn't an isolated phenomenon or a random blip on the nation's economic EKG. Farmers aren't an enclave of rag-tag pessimists who stubbornly refuse to join the president in his daily round of the "Pollyana Chorus." Agriculture is fundamental, the industry that injects the greatest amount of new wealth into our economy. Its malaise signals that something is rotten behind the



The rural economy hasn't been in such bad shape since Hoover left office. Under Reagan 200,000 farmers have gone under.

year deferrals of 100 percent of Farmers Home Administration loans to a farmer, Reagan instead offered a deferral on only 25 percent, in effect trimming the safety net already in place. Furthermore, Block stressed that the program was to be strictly limited to "select borrowers."

The second part of the package was a federal guarantee program for commercial banks handling farm loans, a bailout for hard-pressed banks caught in the quagmire of the failing farm economy. The \$630 million in loan guarantees will be financed by \$130 million left unspent by USDA while farmers were going broke, and an additional \$500 million appropriation that had been wending its way through Congress over the objections of the administration. In short, Reagan dropped his opposition and stepped forward to take full credit for the funds just two days before his Iowa trip.

Administration waffling.

Reagan's about-face on the credit issue—the fastest turnabout since the Olympic swimming events—was only the latest example of the administration's waffling on farm issues. In 1981, Block applied "free

Block to ignore congressional intent and dole out to the biggest operations millions of dollars worth of surplus commodities instead of the \$50,000 maximum Congress had imposed on cash payments.

The Congress elected this year will write the 1985 Farm Bill and determine the course of agriculture for the next several years. If Block and David Stockman are still in positions of influence and get their way on that critical legislation, farm auctioneers will soon be cruising down farm-to-market roads in new Rolls Royces.

It won't be the big operations that go under. Nor will it be the weekend "hobby farms" of 50 acres or less that are increasing along with the "superfarms." The accelerating decline will be in the number of mid-sized, family farm operations with gross sales of between \$40,000 and \$250,000 a year. These are the best farmers, the most efficient farmers, the full-time independent entrepreneurs that consumers count on. They're the ones who have to make a living farming the land, not the tax code, and they're the ones being battered the worst by Reagan and Block's weak and inconsistent policies.

Since Roosevelt, the primary purpose of the government's farm program has been to protect this highly competitive segment of the farm economy from price-busting surpluses. But now Block is willing to sacrifice this group, keeping farmers' prices below the cost of production "so we can compete in the world market."

The inevitable result of these policies will be an economic structure in which 90 to 95 percent of our food is produced by a handful of giant, vertically integrated conglomerates. The statisticians call it a "bimodal" agricultural system. You may have another name for it when you line

happy-talk facade of "recovery."

It's going to take more than a few token pre-election gestures to set things right. Family farmers who have been forced to pile up more and more debt in lieu of profits deserve a *meaningful* debt restructuring program, including a moratorium on foreclosures and forgiveness of some indebtedness. They need a new farm program that sets commodity price floors no lower than the actual cost of production, that restricts production volume of storable commodities so farmers are supplying real demand, and that targets farm program benefits to true family farmers instead of the superfarms. And they need tax code revisions to eliminate tax breaks that give high-bracket corporate operations and tax-loss investors a competitive advantage over full-time family farmers.

This is truly a make-or-break election for farmers, the most important since 1932. The rural economic crisis is a volatile issue in a number of big electoral states, such as Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Texas, and the rural vote could be crucial in several key U.S. Senate races—among them those of U.S. Rep. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) and incumbent Sen. Roger Jepsen, U.S. Rep. Paul Simon (D-IL) and incumbent Sen. Charles Percy and the Lloyd Doggett-Phil Gramm race in Texas.

Gramm's "free-market" ideological extremism on farm policy makes John Block look like a piker, but he is desperately trying to keep rural voters focused on the so-called "social issues" he thinks Doggett is vulnerable on.

He may have forgotten that when times are bad, people vote their pocket-books. And this year, in rural America, times are bad and getting worse.

Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower is a former Observer editor. Printed with permission of The Texas Observer.

John Lennon

Come Together: John Lennon in His Time
By Jon Weiner
Random House, 379 pp., \$10.95

By George De Stefano

This might have been an important book were it not for the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Author Jon Weiner, a left historian who teaches at the University of California at Irvine, has set out to explain John Lennon's importance as a politically engaged artist.

The book is a disappointment, though, because the centerpiece of his opus was to be information culled from the voluminous files the FBI kept on Lennon. Weiner filed a Freedom of Information Act suit to obtain the material, but the feds released only one-third of their files, denying him the bulk of them on "national security" grounds.

Lacking access to the really juicy stuff, Weiner's revelations are far from earth-shaking. The Nixon administration and J. Edgar Hoover did regard Lennon as a serious threat to the nation, but then the Great Prevaricator and his distempered watchdog had a remarkably supple and expansive view of what constituted subversion.

Some of the FBI's anti-Lennon antics were relatively innocuous. Agents dutifully took notes when the ex-Beatle and Yoko Ono appeared on the *Mike Douglas Show* in the early '70s. Other bureau activities were more ominous. Hoover, who was obsessed with the sex lives of those he regarded as his enemies, ordered his men to keep track of the "scurrilous and depraved nature of many of the character's activities, habits and living conditions."

He also wondered whether the nude photograph of John and Yoko that appeared on the cover of their *Two Virgins* LP could form the basis of an obscenity case against the couple. (He must have been crushed when he realized such prosecution was not feasible.) One FBI memo took note of Lennon's drug use, and recommended that he be spied upon and busted.

Anti-Nixon.

The government decided to move against Lennon after he and Ono performed at a 1971 benefit for John Sinclair, a leftist and rock band manager who had been sentenced to 10 years in prison for selling two joints to an undercover cop. The benefit was a tremendous success. Weiner says it "suggested that the two strands of New Left politics could be brought together" by hitching the promotional talents of "media activists" like Jerry Rubin (who helped arrange the event) to the organizing efforts of grassroots political groups.

The benefit was a test run for something far more ambitious: a national anti-Nixon rock'n'roll tour that would culminate in a demonstration-cum-rock-concert near the site of the 1972 Republican National Convention.

The star of the tour was to be, of course, John Lennon.

Had the scheme come to fruition, Nixon really would have had something to worry about. But after getting wind of the plans, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS) drafted a memo recommending that Lennon be deported as a "strategic counter-measure." The grounds for deportation was to be Lennon's 1968 conviction on a minor marijuana charge.

The SISS memo was forwarded by Attorney General John Mitchell to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The INS kept Lennon in and out

leftist politics were more class-bound than culturally radical. "New York, in contrast," says Weiner, "offered a society that was much more open, with a Bohemian enclave in which a working-class superstar could flourish."

Most of *Come Together* covers the familiar territory of Lennon's life and work. There's little here that hasn't been reported in other Beatles and Lennon books.



John Lennon—high on the FBI's dangerous list in 1976

of the courts for five years, finally granting him permanent residence status in 1976 when a federal judge ruled that the drug conviction was no basis for deportation.

The protracted battle with the INS not only killed the anti-Nixon tour, but it also temporarily broke up Lennon's marriage to Yoko Ono and sapped his creative powers. Most of the music Lennon made in the '70s was mediocre or worse, and after he became separated from Ono—at her insistence—he went on a self-destructive alcoholic binge that lasted more than a year.

Though Lennon's career as an expatriate English leftist in the U.S. was largely a fiasco, he might have developed into an important *engage* artist and left activist had he remained in Britain. In one of the book's more revealing sections, Weiner reports that for a short time in the early '70s Lennon became involved with the British New Left. The radicalized singer wanted to fund various New Left projects; his associates suggested setting up a non-profit foundation through which he could provide such assistance.

British New Left.

But Lennon abandoned his comrades in the British left at barely a moment's notice, to take up residence in the U.S. The ostensible reason for the move was to search for Ono's daughter, who had disappeared with Ono's ex-husband. But Weiner says Lennon felt confined in England; its

Weiner brings a left perspective to this material, which is refreshing considering how much of the Lennon literature is either idolatry or sensationalism. And although an ardent fan of the late singer, he is not an uncritical one. He's not afraid to skewer John and Yoko's more ludicrous pronouncements and activities. There are some unconvincing apologies, though. Taking note of the widespread criticisms of Yoko's investments in cattle and real estate, Weiner argues, "None of the people who said rude things about Yoko's handling John's money ever said much about Mick Jagger or Bob Dylan or Pete Townshend and their investments."

Come Together has other flaws. The writing is prosaic at best and often clumsy, as if the author rushed the book to meet a deadline. Weiner has a fair grasp of left politics and cultural history, but his prose lacks the expressive force that would make the events, ideas and personalities he discusses come alive for the reader.

Weiner says that John Lennon was important "not as a source of new values but as an exemplar of values that were already widely shared in '60s culture." No argument there. He worked to synthesize political and personal concerns, to tell the truth about himself and the world he lived in, and he hoped that by doing so he could change both.

He was also an exceptional rock star because he "turned his back on traditional male themes

in rock" and embraced feminism. That commitment, however, was neither consistent nor complete. Kate Millet tells Weiner that John and Yoko could have done much more for feminism.

The secretiveness of the FBI and the author's shortcomings as a chronicler of '60s political and cultural ferment make *Come Together* a disappointment.

But the book does remind us that in the '60s rock was more than simply entertainment. It shaped and reflected the experience of countless young people, giving voice to their love and anger, their longings for solidarity and a better world. It's good to be reminded of that as Ronald Reagan goes around quoting Bruce Springsteen and as college students eagerly move to the right. ■

George De Stefano is a New York-based freelance writer whose articles and reviews have appeared in *The Nation*, *L.A. Weekly* and *The Guardian*.

Rock'n'Roll

The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll
By Charlie Gillett
Pantheon, 515 pp., \$7.95

By William Swislow

Charlie Gillett's *Sound of the City* answers the \$64,000 question about popular culture: why does "pop music" tend so unremittably toward mediocrity? It is no coincidence, he shows, that so many grassroots bursts of creativity—from the original rock'n'roll explosion of the mid-'50s to the New Wave of the late '70s—seem to end up sounding like just another version of everything else on the radio.

Sound of the City was originally written in 1970; this new edition updates some material, but does not carry through completely to the present. Even so, it is still the best detailed history of

Mick Jagger



the popular music industry with a sensitive appraisal of the music itself. Gillett shows exactly how the decisions of producers and record company executives have determined what audiences hear on the radio and what record companies produce.

There is a fundamental difference, Gillett argues, between pop music, represented by performers ranging from Andy Williams to Herman's Hermits, and the authentic popular music made by musicians like James Brown or the Rolling Stones. Pop music in Gillett's terms is a creation of producers, writers, professional session musicians and other showbiz professionals, who use a performer to front for them. The goal is to create a mood that will sell. This is an important way in which the form of music production influences the content.

For anyone who has ever been turned off by the top 40, there is a compelling and often engaging story. Gillett shows how musicians have faced unrelenting pressure from the industry to compromise their material, ultimately undercutting the very music that propelled them into stardom.

It was not until years after the birth of rock'n'roll that record companies stopped trying to fit performers into confining categories and procedures that had been worked out for pop music in the '30s, '40s and early '50s. Gillett includes in this process of compromise such heroes as Muddy Waters and the Beatles, along with obvious cases like Elvis Presley and Ray Charles.

The most disturbing part of this history is the systematic pattern of racism, Gillett demonstrates. Throughout the '50s and '60s, white artists consistently made themselves hits on the pop charts by covering songs that had already made it big in the rhythm and blues market. Radio programmers were loathe to play the originals by black artists, and the record companies believed the pop audience preferred the slick remakes. One label would sometimes even have its white artists do new versions of songs its own black artists originated.

But should music be categorized by the way it is made rather than by its sound? This is a question Gillett does not address. He also does not speak much of the fans and the artists, of why rock'n'roll and rhythm and blues happened, how individual musicians evolved their styles and why those styles appealed to their audiences. The book leaves you with the feeling that it was perhaps written mainly from listening to records and reading the industry news and sales charts in *Billboard* magazine.

But despite these limitations, *Sound of the City* is a first-rate introduction to the major trends in rock music and rhythm and blues in their first decades. If you want to take popular music seriously, you can begin with this book. ■

William Swislow is the assistant editor of *Valley Advocate*, Springfield, Mass.

Victor Jara

An Unfinished Song: The Life of Victor Jara

By Joan Jara

Ticknor & Fields, 278 pp., \$15.95

By Jay Walljasper

Singer Victor Jara was singled out for brutal torture when Chilean military leaders decided in September 1973 that the country's experiment in ballot-box socialism had gone on long enough. A high-ranking officer bloodied Jara in front of a crowd at a sports-stadium-turned-prison-camp, daring him to sing after a bruising avalanche of punches.

Jara got through one verse of "Venceremos"—his song that had become an anthem for the supporters of President Salvador Allende—before fists again battered him. The next day his body, punctured by machine gun bullets, turned up among a heap of corpses dumped along a roadside.

Joan Jara—who fled to her native England after the coup—spent years piecing together the story of her husband's last hours in the hands of right-wing soldiers who considered him as dangerous as Allende. But it's the only bit of conventional historical research in this biography, *An Unfinished Song*, which is really a memoir of the life she shared with one of the world's most influential folk musicians.

Jara posed a genuine threat to the rightists who rule Chile. His politically charged songs—inspired by folk tunes he learned in countryside villages and urban shanties—stirred masses of people. His music unleashed the same hopes as Allende's 1970 election victory.

Jara's campaign concerts during the 1973 mid-term elections helped beat back right-wing efforts to defuse the Allende government by packing the national

legislature with hostile lawmakers. That's why he and other prominent Chilean artists were butchered right alongside government ministers when Allende's enemies opted for bullets rather than ballots.

After the coup, the state record company was a chief target of right-wing mobs marauding through Santiago, where master tapes made by Jara and other performers of the New Chilean Song movement were stored. Later, the military government even tried to ban the playing of certain traditional Latin American instruments that these folk-singers had made popular.

Joan Jara, once a dancer with the Chilean National Ballet, offers a vivid picture of the cultural flowering that accompanied the left's rise to power. She describes the enthusiastic artistic experiments of the '50s and '60s that drew on both high art traditions imported from Europe and the culture of Chileans—projects that laid groundwork for later political alliances between working people and the intellectual community.

But drawing a clear portrait of her husband proves more difficult. We first meet him as a young scholarship student from Santiago's slums enrolled in the dance class she taught at the university. Then he takes up the cause of Chile's peasants, wandering the countryside to sing with them in their shabby kitchens. Later he becomes the bright new star of Chilean theater, directing productions of Brecht and Gorky. She dutifully chronicles all his triumphs—musical tours of Eastern Europe, theater tours of the U.S., speaking tours of South America.

Her pride in Jara is understandable, but it stands in the way of letting us know him. Only occasionally does she let slip a random detail—he was grouchy in the morning—that lets us share her memories of him as a man, rather than some dusty idol perched in the Hall of Revolutionary Heroes.



Contemporary jazz musician Melba Liston



Slain Chilean singer Victor Jara

Joan Jara does a much better job recounting the story of Allende's Chile through her own eyes—telling us not about some bigger-than-life heroine but a real woman with everyday concerns.

Victor Jara's records remain as shards that show some of the hopeful spirit afoot in Allende's Chile. And so do these memories of Joan Jara.

Jazzwomen

Stormy Weather: The Music and Lives of a Century of Jazzwomen

By Linda Dahl

Pantheon, 371 pp., \$12.95

By Susan Anderson

This book represents a pioneering approach to a nearly untouched subject in the literature of Afro-American music—jazzwomen. Until now, there have been a few biographies of premiere black women vocalists—Bessie Smith, Billie Holiday, Ethel Waters, Lena Horne—and a few recently published surveys. But *Stormy Weather* provides new material and is likely to become a major reference in the field.

Linda Dahl has attempted several formidable tasks in this volume. She has culled an enormity of biographical data on women contributors to jazz, including progenitors in the gospel and blues forms. She discusses various types of women jazz musicians—instrumentalists, vocalists, composers, bandleaders—and of various nationalities. She confronts the ideologies that have hampered women musicians.

Stormy Weather is, at its heart, a directory, a cataloging of the known and the unknown women in jazz music. The chapters are carefully organized by types of musician and include sections on the contemporary scene, as well as a profile segment based on interviews conducted by the author. There is a dizzying breadth of information.

But the detail, while enlightening, is also wearing. And the kind of jazz press lingo that the author resorts to throughout the text, writing that one musician "gigged" at a certain club, "fronted" for a certain band, "cooked" on her instrument, also is trying.

Dahl documents how difficult jazz women's lives were and are. But black male jazz musicians have articulated these hardships, have asserted that, in the words

of Archie Sceppe, "jazz is a music born out of oppression, born out of the enslavement of [black] people." The question in dealing with women jazz musicians (especially black) is: what specific difficulties did they face as women? Did the texture and meaning of their lives differ historically from those of male jazz artists?

Stormy Weather does not examine its abundance of detail to respond to these questions, and while the author writes of the "dictates of the Afro-American aesthetic" and mentions the phenomena of segregated performances and race records, racism is practically a non-issue. *Stormy Weather* conveys the sense that the overriding obstacle shared by these women was fighting to be taken seriously by their male counterparts.

An anti-woman bias among individuals in the jazz world is strongly documented, however. This is seen in Dahl's passages on the female vocalist of the big band era. Known as a "gal yipper," "canary" or "warbler," "she was like a singing cheerleader for the team behind her.... As in the traditionally male-dominated games of basketball and football, the team took care of business...musical business...while the vocal pom-pom girl stood supportively and decoratively on the sidelines."

Dahl offers a lively section of "Profiles" that reassuringly reveals the potency of jazzwomen working today—such as Carla Bley, Helen Hume, Melba Liston. In her chapter, "The Contemporary Scene," Dahl argues there is a new sensibility among the musicians themselves, a consciousness about shared plights that manifests itself in festivals, conferences and organizations devoted to women's participation in jazz. She has included a short list following the book's appendix of "Organizations that promote women in jazz."

■ *Susan Anderson is a Los Angeles-based freelance writer.*

Bluegrass

Bluegrass Breakdown

By Robert Cantwell

University of Illinois Press, 328 pp., \$19.95

By Bruce Kaplan

This book is about the social history of bluegrass music.

Bluegrass is in some ways—as much as jazz—a quintessentially American musical form. Its sound is often used to evoke images of rustic purity and naturalness—it's "Bonnie and

Clyde" and "Beverly Hillbilies" music. But as Cantwell argues, it is as much music spawned by the steel mills and radio technology of the North as the meadows and pastures of the South.

For all its archaic imagery and associations, bluegrass in its contemporary form is only about 40 years old, and is largely due to the creativity of one man, Bill Monroe. Most of the major early bluegrass artists—including the brilliant banjo innovator Earl Scruggs, whose particular crisp and ringing single-note technique is what many people instantly think of when they hear the words "banjo" or "bluegrass" or "country music"—were at one time members of Bill's band.

Bill Monroe was born 70 years ago in Western Kentucky, and he grew up listening to and playing old time rural dance music and singing and hearing the old hymns and ballads. But as a teenager he also encountered the blues—black music in the form of Arnold Schultz, an itinerant guitarist and railroad worker, one of the most fascinating and enigmatic figures in American musical history.

He influenced directly not only Bill Monroe, but also Ike Everly, the father of Don and Phil, who were among the major connections between country and rock music.

In 1929, 18-year-old Bill Monroe joined thousands of other rural people in the journey to the urban North—the Whiting-Gary-Hammond area. In addition to factory jobs, Bill and his brothers discovered there a large number of rural people concentrated in a small space, who wanted to hear the songs and dance the dances of home. They began performing, and soon were signed to play on the *Barn Dance*, a Chicago radio program on a station with a clear channel signal that reached most of the eastern half of the country. This playing led to touring, and the brothers became full-time musicians.

A process occurred in string band music very similar to the one going on in the Chicago area with traditional jazz. New Orleans jazz and traditional rural string band music both featured several lead instruments all playing a tune simultaneously, possibly backed by some rhythm instruments. In the '20s and '30s, as young urban white men began to adapt the New Orleans sound, soloing began to be the featured event in jazz. In the '30s and '40s, the same change occurred in string band music, led by Bill Monroe and the Bluegrass Boys.

There are some problems with the book. The writing is not always clear, and certain aspects of bluegrass are ignored or glossed over. Also, there is perhaps too much focus on Monroe and not enough on other musicians or the audience. Why hasn't bluegrass connected to the rural audience as well as the more glittery Nashville emanations, if, as the author argues, it is such an important expression for rural people? Despite limitations, it is a pioneering work and takes the social history of bluegrass seriously.

■ *Bruce Kaplan is president of Flying Fish Records.*

ART»ENTERTAINMENT

CULTURE WATCH

NEH's neocon crusade risks agency's future

By Pat Aufderheide

"The greatest advances in the humanities have already been made," pronounces William Bennett, head of the National Endowment for the Humanities. It all happened in the period between the ancient Greeks and the end of the Renaissance, mostly to white men.

In his three-year tenure, Bennett has radically refocused the \$132 million agency, noted in its 16-year history for funding projects as diverse as the traveling King Tut exhibit, the films *Heartland* and *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez*, and town-hall type meetings.

The agency has been a spark to make the humanities part of working people's lives, and it has promoted academic innovation, especially in programs for minorities and women. Bennett, however, has cut experimental and public programs, boosting emphasis on traditional academics and trimming the budget. His rubric for the new era is "excellence in education."

The shift has been so dramatic that a report accompanying the 1984 appropriations bill notes that improving education "is not the principal responsibility for the Endowment," which should recognize that "improvement of humanities—the quality of life—occurs outside of the classrooms also." Putting teeth in its criticism, the report recommends shifting funds back into public programs.

But Bennett is not a man to be balked by a simple run-in with Congress. He is used to it (see *In These Times* last week). He is crusading for a return to the perspective of the ancient Greeks, who knew that "the most important thing is to live well and to die with honor."

What does it mean to live well? "Not to betray your friends, your God or your country," as he expressed it succinctly to *In These Times*. Or, as he phrased it to academic administrators recently, it is to find answers to the fundamental questions: "Who am I? What's it all about? What do I owe my country? What is courage? What is friendship?"

This view of the humanities makes sense given Bennett's own background and personality. A man who came up the hard way, having had the Brooklyn street scruffiness brushed off him by Jesuit schooling, he found in "great books" an assertion of authority that still affords him comfort.

As he told a group of college administrators recently, "Some books were of help to me [in answering these questions], and I *NEH chief Bennett looks on as Reagan announces the agency's new library initiative.*

won't keep secret which ones they were now that I have this job, this opportunity."

But recent revelations raises doubt about whether Bennett has in fact been a good student. In 1980, Bennett had argued in the Heritage Foundation's Mandate for Leadership that the NEH should narrow its focus and streamline its operations. Under his direction, however, the refocusing and streamlining has had a peculiarly idiosyncratic orientation.

In his first year at NEH, Bennett returned nearly a million dollars rather than spend it on public projects. Meanwhile, he used his own public affairs department to describe him in

press releases as "a prominent Reagan administration spokesman on education."

The tactic was so bold that Rep. Sidney Yates, father of the NEH, protested about it in appropriations hearings last March. Bennett told him that the billing was attributable to excessive zeal on the part of his staff (something the staff was reportedly surprised to hear). However, he added, "a public affairs office is supposed to make you look good, so—"

Bennett has also created NEH projects that offer forums where the chairman's views can be heard. He targeted NEH

staff time and funds to kick off a splashy name-the-great-books campaign last summer, soliciting must-read lists for high school students from friends, from high school teachers in the NEH summer seminars program and through a George Will newspaper column.

The survey was heavily weighted in favor of people likely to turn in Harvard five-foot-shelf titles, since more than half the original respondents were teachers reading classics on NEH money, and it resulted in headlines for Bennett and for his classics campaign.

Earlier this spring, the NEH hastily threw together four university conferences on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. Since the conferences "should take place as soon as possible," wrote the project coordinator Edward Erler (a Bennett appointee) in an internal memo, "it will be necessary to depart from regular contractual procedures."

Since the Bicentennial continues into 1987, not everyone would consider this an emergency item. But one disaffected NEH'er noted, "These people don't know where they'll be in 1985"—after the election. Three of the conferences featured Bennett as keynote speaker, and the fourth featured John

Agresto, the man Bennett brought with him from his neo-conservative think tank, the National Humanities Center.

In this publicity push, Bennett allies himself staunchly with the White House. When Rep. Yates asked him why he had allowed himself to be dubbed a Reagan spokesman, Bennett replied, "I am proud of the fact that I am a member of this administration." Bennett's personal loyalties may explain some NEH actions that have been widely interpreted as politicizing the cultural agency. Take, for instance, recent recess appointments to the National Council on the Humanities.

The Council, an advisory group, is supposed to be composed of scholars and experts in the humanities. But Richard W. Lyman, Rockefeller Foundation president and former Council member, commented, "The chief common thread [among the appointees] seems to be working for the right-to-life movement. Three of them have no academic qualifications."

Among the appointees are Helen Marie Taylor, former actress and co-chair of Virginia state Moral Majority; Mary Jo ("Call me Jo!") Cresimore, a homemaker and Republican Party activist; and Kathleen S.



National Endowment for the Humanities

Kilpatrick, publisher of the conservative *Yale Literary Magazine* (which Yale is suing for using its name).

At first glance, this bowing to the far right looks odd from the aspiring heir to neoconservative Irving Kristol's intellectual mantle. But some neocons, particularly people around Midge Decter and Irving Kristol, are mending fences with the far right, fearful about being caught in the middle as public opinion polarizes.

This strategy may explain why Bennett—on NEH travel money—flew out to San Francisco during the Democratic Convention to give his education reform speech to Family Forum II. Bennett did the same thing—again, on NEH funds—during the Republican Convention.

Concerned with the universal and enduring in human nature, Bennett abhors the notion that the humanities could be corrupted by giving NEH grants to projects focusing on topical or public policy issues. Therein lies the logic in what looks, on the face of it, a blatantly political move—using his chairman's right to grant \$30,000 on an emergency basis to fund a project by conservative media watchdog group Accuracy in Media, criticizing the PBS *Vietnam* series.

The series had received partial NEH funding before Bennett's arrival. When members of the Council raised questions in their August meeting, Bennett explained that it was an emergency because AIM wanted to produce a TV special in time to respond to the *Vietnam* series rerun this summer. Besides, he said, once the NEH had undertaken the grave risk of funding a politically hot topic, it was only responsible to let the other side "have their shot." In short, Bennett was teaching a lesson. Controversy is expensive; if you stick with the classics, you avoid trouble.

The AIM grant is only one example of the NEH's top-down policies. One Carter-era staffer who has since left recalls that on the arrival of Bennett and Agresto, they perused the incoming list of grant applicants. As usual, a number of public interest groups and socially-critical projects were on the list. (The role of the artist and of the intellectual in modern society, as exiles from authoritarian regimes keep telling us, is often that of social critics.) Agresto, the ex-staffer remembers, asked with his characteristic ebullience, "Isn't there some way we can get these people not to apply?"

The NEH has since discovered some effective ways to at least inhibit them. New guidelines for the division of general programs state that projects "directed at persuading an audience to a particular political, philosophical, religious or ideological point of view" or examining issues of current controversy without the balance of competing perspective" are ineligible.

Some people think the guidelines are based less on the ultimate values Bennett celebrates in speeches than on personal loyalties and enmities. They point to the fate of the Organization of American Historians, whose executive secretary, Joan Hoff-Wilson, a prominent historian, had pointed out in congressional testimony that "balance" and "intellectual integrity" could turn out to be code words to reject politically

unpalatable projects. Since her testimony, the OAH has not received another NEH grant.

On the other hand, some people and projects find special favor. A recent *Nation* article pointed out, on the basis of documents leaked by unhappy staffers, that the NEH had provided nearly half a million dollars in 1982 and 1983 to the conservative-backed think tank Public Research Syndicated, which distributes pro-administration articles and for which two of Bennett's division heads had written.

Another conservative think tank, the Claremont Institute (for which one of the division heads had also worked) received more than \$300,000 for conferences and lectures on the

provoke him as sharply as does policy criticism or pressure from constituents. He has instructed his public affairs staff to strongly urge journalists to send galley proofs of their stories to the Endowment.

In the wake of the *Nation* article and others based on inside documents, the staff received a memo May 15 detailing restrictions on information to the public and warning, "Failure to maintain confidentiality is grounds for adverse personnel action."

The effect of top-down rule is showing up in staff turnover. According to Bennett, there were some 80 vacancies last year in an agency employing 242 people. More surprising than Bennett's acceptance of

idea of setting up a great books list all college students should read by graduation.

The important thing, said Paul Oskar Kristeller, professor emeritus of philosophy at Columbia University, was not the title of any particular book but "how to use it, how to understand it." Hannah Gray, president of the University of Chicago, told him with asperity, "A curriculum fight is always about ideology and politics."

I.F. Stone, veteran investigative journalist and amateur classicist, having presented last year a series of lectures on the death of Socrates, also had doubts about Bennett's methods. "People are reading so little about the past that I wouldn't want to denigrate anyone encouraging

turn to for funding. Now, people on the cutting edge are not being funded any more."

Others, however, believe that the cutting edge is really the radical fringe. That, at least, is the view of Council member Walter Berns, of the American Enterprise Institute. The liberal arts for Berns make the difference between an uncivilized and a civilized person, but "I have no great hopes that one can persuade the great body of the American people to love Yeats."

Appreciation of the liberal arts, he says, "is best the preserve of a few people." Berns even wonders if a federal agency can take on the job of preserving the existence of the few who can be civilized, since the money it uses belongs to all the people.

Bennett has some of the same concerns. Asked to assess the NEH as a national institution, he told me, "We don't need it." A moment later he qualified that statement: "I have mixed feelings about us continuing. I'm enough of a realist, though, to know it will continue."

That is why he advocates a more "modest" role for the agency, embodied both in requests for a lower budget and for a high proportion of the budget dedicated to academic programs.

If William Bennett isn't convinced there should be an NEH, why is he in charge of it? From an administration point of view, it makes as much sense as appointing a subscriber to Thomas Sowell's views on affirmative action to head the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, or staffing the Civil Rights Commission with disbelievers. From Bennett's perspective, though, the NEH could be a launching pad.

Every controversy labels him a fearless educational reformer. And that, many Washington spectators suggest, could put him in line to become the next Secretary of Education.

Then William Bennett would be in a position to bring us all back to basics.

William Bennett's three years at NEH have been a "disaster for the humanities," complains outgoing Council on the Humanities member Mary Beth Norton. "People on the cutting edge are not being funded anymore."

constitutional bicentennial.

The NEH has had remarkable success over the years with peer and expert panel reviews, but these days complaints of unbalanced panels and of overruling panel judgments are flooding out of the Endowment.

"Grants by minorities and women are being reviewed to death," says James Early, a black cultural administrator who has since left the NEH to work at the Smithsonian Institution. "It's a tactic. If the panel approves a proposal, then you send it for outside expert review. If you keep doing that long enough, enough qualifications will mount up to let you build an argument against the project."

Before he left, Early surprised Bennett by voicing some of his objections in a Council meeting, where he also charged NEH top staffers with discriminating against minorities and women in hiring, promotion and in the casual back-and-forth of office life.

Bennett, who is proud of having supported civil rights in his youth at the University of Mississippi, took Early's public statement personally. A few weeks later, he happened to run into his ex-employee in a local restaurant, eating with a group of friends. At first he walked out, but then rushed back in.

"He charged up to me," recalls Early, "waved his finger in my face and said, 'I used to respect you. But I have no respect for you anymore.'"

This personal response to a policy criticism fits with Bennett's character. He is feisty, likely not only to say inflammatory things but to boast about them. His conversation is freighted with aggression: "I intended to be contentious," he says in dialog with academics, and "some of you have taken great pleasure in beating me up on this issue."

Describing to me his administrative position as being in "a shooting gallery," he expressed dismay that some potential grantees—both individuals and institutions—had the manner "of a dockside bully" and a bottom-line of "fund us or we'll kill you."

The rare instance of press criticism seems to wound and

Carter-era functionaries' offers to resign are the short tenures of Bennett's own appointees. The general programs division, for instance, is on its third director.

Of all the areas in the NEH, the one that administers state humanities councils—which have grant-giving autonomy—may be most vivid testimony to the style of the new era. Members of the state humanities councils get special training in what is and is not the humanities these days, from NEH staffers in seminars whose funds come from the state councils' budget. (A fifth of the NEH's budget goes to the state councils.)

Early on Bennett spelled out priorities for them in a speech warning against using the committees "as a pretext for partisan, political tendentiousness." Most of the members caught the drift, since 34 percent of the state funds are at the chairman's discretion. And they have evidence that Bennett is keeping a close watch. It was with the chairman's blessing that two conservative Congressmen began a GAO investigation after their state councils sponsored events relating to understanding the Soviets.

Whether at the state or federal level, mass media—radio, TV and film—are being more closely watched in this NEH than ever before. "I do have reservations about the capacity of electronic media to convey the sense of the humanities," admits Bennett.

It's not, according to him, that he objects to the typically-contemporary focus of mass media. He is willing to expand the five-foot-shelf of classics to account for recent history and for American cultures. "My own notion," he told me, "is a seven or eight-foot-shelf."

William Bennett has been blessed with extraordinarily positive press, but he has his critics, and not only in Congress (where Yates is said to be "as upset as he has ever been" about the NEH). There are also scholarly objections to his redefinition of the humanities.

In a workshop that Bennett convened—at a cost of some \$60,000 plus staff costs—to advise him in writing a paper on college curricula, Bennett faced near-universal criticism for his

them. But you can't force them to either.

"People get what they bring to a classic," he says, warning that listmaking isn't enough. "The classic authors were intensely human beings. Plato is a great charmer, but I feel never did anyone use charm to get away with such arrant nonsense. Totalitarianism and Hitlerian eugenics—they're right there in *The Republic*."

Mary Beth Norton, a leading historian of women's history and outgoing Council member, thinks the Bennett era is "a disaster for the humanities. One of the great traditions of the Endowment," she told me, "is that this is where people doing research in new and exciting areas—oral history, black history, women's history, to name areas I am familiar with—can

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RANDOM HOUSE



Growe

Continued from page 9

were still full of volunteers, people kept donating their time, plugging away," says deputy campaign manager Greg McNeilly. "That's the kind of base you can build on."

With the recent infusion of money, however—Growe has raised \$1.35 million so far, making her the most successful money-raiser in DFL history—the campaign has shifted from the ground to the air. Radio and TV commercials and broadcast debates have had much to do with shoring up Growe's poll standing, and the change in campaign tactics has also brought a change in emphasis.

The biggest issue of late is Boschwitz's refusal to release his income tax returns. Charging that millionaire Boschwitz has personally benefited from the Reagan tax cut he supported, the Growe camp has also implied that Boschwitz may have other business dealings to hide. The issue was chosen by campaign consultant Struble, who saw it used to great advantage when he was Ohio Senator John Glenn's deputy campaign manager in his 1974 race.

Growe is also hitting Boschwitz on his support for product liability legislation that would restrict consumers' ability to sue manufacturers for dangerous or faulty products; A.H. Robins would be protected from future Dalkon Shield lawsuits, for example. But Growe points out that the legislation could also protect Boschwitz's family businesses, which have several formaldehyde poisoning lawsuits pending against them.

The two issues have their populist edge, sharpening Boschwitz's image as a conservative millionaire whose interests are different from those of voters. But they've changed the tenor of the race perceptibly. Boschwitz, echoed by the media, has criticized the campaign's negative thrust (which Struble only heighten-

ed by telling a reporter he would have been a "gladiator" in an earlier era). Minnesota Freeze Voter co-chair Melinda McLaughlin believes Growe's previous emphasis on issues like the freeze and unemployment has gotten a little obscured by the personal attacks on Boschwitz. "I'm pragmatic enough to think that if that's what it takes to get elected, it's fine with me, but it's discouraging. She focused a lot more on the peace issue when she didn't have a lot of money for media."

Growe acknowledges the change in emphasis, but believes the income tax and product liability issues raise valid questions about Boschwitz's integrity. "People are reacting," she says she will continue to hit Boschwitz on the freeze and other defense issues, especially in their upcoming televised foreign policy debate, but acknowledges that it has taken a back seat to other issues "because it's tough to get people to vote on it."

That point is echoed by Struble and pollster Frederick. Growe's polls have shown that less than 20 percent of voters contacted say the freeze is the most important determinant of how they vote. "That may be the largest number for a single issue, activist group, but it's not a lot of people," says Frederick. And Struble contends it won't sway crucial undecided voters: "People who care a lot about it either way already know where candidates stand on the issues."

Growe's most impressive achievement, if indeed she succeeds, will be pulling together the disparate elements of the DFL. She is confident she's done that. "The party is incredibly unified right now," she says.

But abortion remains divisive. At the Planned Parenthood clinic in St. Paul, things look a little different. Anti-abortion picketers maintain a steady vigil on the sidewalk outside, carrying signs and literature and approaching women as they enter the building. The site has been firebombed several times and broken into repeatedly. Now a security guard watches to ensure that women who stop to talk to

the picketers are doing so voluntarily.

Joe Frank, a construction worker in his early 30s, pickets when he gets the chance. Abortion is the "overriding issue" facing the country, he believes. A DFL member, he attended local caucuses as a pro-life representative. Under no circumstances can he vote for Growe, or the Mondale-Ferraro ticket. "A lot of us feel like we have no choice—we don't like the Republicans but we don't believe in the Democratic platform," he says.

From inside Planned Parenthood, Rasmussen has little anguish over Frank's political dilemma. "The rank-and-file people in this party are pluralistic and pro-choice," she says. Like staunch anti-abortionists, she believes the issue "is as fundamental as slavery," except to her the slaves are women forced to bear children. "I don't think the Democratic umbrella is large enough to accommodate slaves and slaveholders."

For her part, Growe downplays the role abortion has had in the general election. "In the caucuses there are a lot of people who feel strongly about it, and people like to focus on it. But as I travel the state now, it's just not a question I'm getting."

Students

Continued from page 11

ing from his. Carter and his administration represented the attempt of Democratic liberalism to cope with the post-Vietnam, post-Bretton Woods world in which the U.S. had lost its military and industrial supremacy. Carter and California Gov. Jerry Brown were among the first "neo-liberals," who proclaimed that the U.S. was entering a new "era of limits." Americans would have to settle for less prosperity and resign themselves to a reduced role in world affairs.

In 1980 and again in 1984 Reagan has enunciated the exact contrary view. He has proclaimed that the potential of

American prosperity remains unbounded and that the U.S. must not abandon its global "place in the sun."

The support for Reagan and opposition to Mondale among 18-to-24-year olds reflects support for Reagan's optimistic ideology and a repudiation of Democratic neo-liberalism. As such, its implications extend beyond the battle for the presidency and beyond 1984. Students are not just flocking to Reagan, but to other avatars of optimism like Massachusetts Senate candidate Ray Shamie and Indiana Governor Robert Orr.

When the students at Maryland were asked if they admired any Democratic politicians, the only name that came up was New York Governor Mario Cuomo. Lipton said, "I could support Cuomo because he's a strong leader. He gives New Yorkers the same feeling about their state that Reagan gives us throughout America."

But the other three students expressed no enthusiasm about Cuomo. The mention of Democratic stalwarts like Sen. Edward Kennedy drew expressions of disgust. Even Sen. Gary Hart elicited a blank. "What were his new ideas?" Schwartz asked.

To win over this generation, Democrats will need more than expert testimony on the perils of acid rain, deficits and nuclear winter. On one hand, they will probably have to wait until events themselves—in the form of war or depression—invalidate the Republicans' boosterism; on the other hand, they will have to be ready with a politics of their own that defines the promise and not merely the perils of American life.

For the moment, the Democrats have lost most of the college students. Today's students are—to borrow a phrase from another generation—the vanguard of Reagan Republicanism.

Salvador

Continued from page 13

nal repression. Certainly they have to be concentrating more on the war now and dedicating more time to it. But we are seeing that they are not interfering in the strikes recently, for instance. There are changes in the armed forces, but they continue being their own power and far from the mentality of democracy.

Facundo Guardado:

On amnesty.

Amnesty is a demand of the people for those in the prisons of Mariona and the women's prison, who are not set free even when they are legally discharged, and even when there is no proof of crime. (According to the legal aid office here, the number of political prisoners at these two institutions is held constant at about 370 persons.) Amnesty for all these prisoners is a demand that continues now.

To speak of "amnesty" for the guerrillas is ridiculous.

On laying down arms.

It is clear we are not here for the love of arms. On the contrary, we have taken up arms because we are aware that only by way of the political fight and the military fight is it possible to attain victory, and thus to attain peace.

Abandon our arms? We will abandon our arms at the moment we are not threatened, when the interests of the people have conquered and when those conquests are not threatened. Unfortunately, we are afraid that the threat is going to be maintained for a long time. Even after the triumph.

How long will the war go on?

We would like to say it will end today. But the truth is that it cannot end until the things that caused this war are resolved—that is, the economic problems, social problems, the lack of political liberties and the lack of participation of our people in decisions about their own lives.

Mary Jo McConahay, an associate editor of *Pacific News Service*, is on assignment in Central America.

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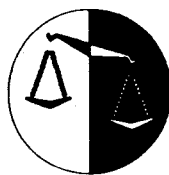
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Continued from page 24

On the morrow he will leave me, with more fallout than before."
Then the bird said, "Peace is war."

Startled at the stillness broken by reply so ineptly spoken,
"Doubtless," said I, "what it utters shows its stocks are in war,
Taught by some unhappy master, named unmerciful disaster
Followed fast and followed faster till his mind one burden bore—
Till the dirges of his Hope that military burden bore
Of peace—peace that's war."

But the Reagan still beguiling with all our currency stockpiling,
Weapons wheeled, winged and fleet (instead of food and homes for the poor).
Then, upon the hopes now sinking, I betook myself to linking
Fancy unto fancy, thinking what this ominous bird of yore—
What this grim, ungainly, ghastly, gaunt, and odious bird or yore
Meant in croaking "Peace is war."

This I sat engaged in guessing, his every speech was so depressing,
The fowl whose watery eyes now blurred like a nuclear reactor's core;
This and more I saw while spying, with my own eyes, at the risk of dying,
With the rich on velvet lying that the lamplight gloated o'er,
But whose velvet violent lying, we read, with them gloating o'er,
Freedom of the press, ah, nevermore.

Then, methought, the air grew denser, polluted, while some unseen censor
Hung freedom fighters, whose footprints led to the President's door.
"Wretch," I cried, "thy God hath lent thee—by such devils he hath sent thee
Respite—respite and propaganda from thy torturing of the poor;
Quaff, oh, quaff this kind of propaganda and forget the suffering poor!"
Quoth the Reagan, "Peace is war."

"Profiteer!" said I, "thing of evil!—profiteer still, even if it's legal!"—
Whether tempter sent, or whether election tossed thee here ashore,
Desolate yet all undaunted, on this noble land enchanted—
On this home by horror haunted—tell me truly, I implore—
Are there—are there *bombs* in Gilead?—Tell me—tell me, I implore!"
Quoth the Reagan, "Peace is war."

"Profit!" said I, "out of evil!—profit more, from bombs you devil!
By that heaven that bends above us—by that God we both adore—
Tell this soul with sorrow laden if, in the coming conflagration,
There will remain a single nation (most of whom, of course, are poor!)
Blast those rare and radiant nations (who are mostly filled with poor)."
Quoth the Reagan, "Peace is war."

"It is war you would be starting, bird or 'fiend!' I shrieked, upstarting—
Get thee back into television and peddle plutonium no more!
Leave no black plume as a token of that lie thy soul hath spoken!
Leave this Earth intact, unbroken!—keep our trust and do no more!
Take thy beak from out our hearts, for public office run no more!"
Quoth the Reagan, "Peace is war."

But the Reagan, still not quitting, star wars weapons is outfitting
On the broken trust of the people, sitting on the poor;
And his eyes have all the seeing of a demon's that is dreaming,
And *our* dreams that once were gleaming he would burn with needless war;
But my soul from out that shadow which lies upon our countries shore—
Shall be lifted if we vote for Reagan—nevermore!

Edgar Allen Poor is a pseudonym for Jeffrey Armstrong, a songwriter and poet who makes his living as a marketing and communications consultant for the microcomputer industry. © Jeffrey Armstrong

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Cynthia Diaz**.

CHICAGO

October 31-November 4

Steeltown, by the San Francisco Mime Troupe! Labor/musical/drama on the plight of the American worker. October 31st-November 4th, 8 p.m., with additional 2 p.m. Sunday matinee. Athenaeum Theatre: 2936 North Southport Ave., Chicago. Sponsored by the San Francisco Mime Troupe! Call: (312) 278-5754.

November 16

Aaron Freeman performs as Third Unitarian Church celebrates its 116th anniversary! Wine and cheese, etc., for \$5. 8 p.m.. Third Unitarian Church, 301 N. Mayfield (5900 W.) (312) 626-9385. TUC has more subscribers to *ITT* than any other church in the U.S!

November 17

"...Mightier Than the Sword: A Tribute to Ruth Adams and Dennis Brutus," Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. A benefit for the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. Reception and cash bar 6:00, dinner 7:00. Donation \$35 (\$30 before November 1). Call (312) 939-0675 for more information.

PRINCETON, NJ

November 8-10

Socialism in America: A Conference to Mark the Centenary of Norman Thomas. Princeton University. Focus on 1890-1914, 1930-1945 and socialist contributions to American mainstream. Papers by Nick Salvatore, Irving Howe, Michael Harrington. To register, write: Socialist Conference, Dept. of History, 129 Dickinson Hall, Princeton University, Princeton NJ 08544.

CHAPEL HILL, NC

November 8

"Signs of the Times Tour" starring John McCutcheon & Sy Kahn, with sign artist Susan

Freundlich. Ticket discounts for hearing impaired/disabled. (919) 821-8555.

BLACKSBURG, VA

November 9

"Signs of the Times Tour" starring John McCutcheon & Sy Kahn, with sign artist Susan Freundlich. Ticket discounts for hearing impaired/disabled. (703) 382-1431.

ANN ARBOR, MI

November 9-11

"Democratic Management": A three-day training seminar held in conjunction with NASCO Training Institute. Content includes: decision-making, planning, conflict resolution, personnel policy, and organizational structure. \$150 pays for training, all NASCO events and 5 meals. Contact Gary Wappes at Workers Trust, 1-800-447-2345.

STAUNTON, VA

November 10

"Signs of the Times Tour" starring John McCutcheon & Sy Kahn, with sign artist Susan Freundlich. Ticket discounts for hearing impaired/disabled. (703) 885-1431.

SEATTLE, WA

November 10-11

Breaking the Barriers of Job Discrimination: Join union and working women at University of Washington. Conference to discuss winning strategies on combating unequal treatment and protecting workplace rights. Keynotes: Clara Fraser, Merle Woo, both victors of landmark discrimination suits. Panels and workshops from comparable worth to unionizing. Contact Radical Women, 3815-5th Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105, 206-632-1815 or 206-632-7449.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA

November 11

"Signs of the Times Tour" starring John McCutcheon & Sy Kahn, with sign artist Susan Freundlich. Ticket discounts for hearing impaired/disabled. (804) 295-5342.

ASHEVILLE, NC

November 13

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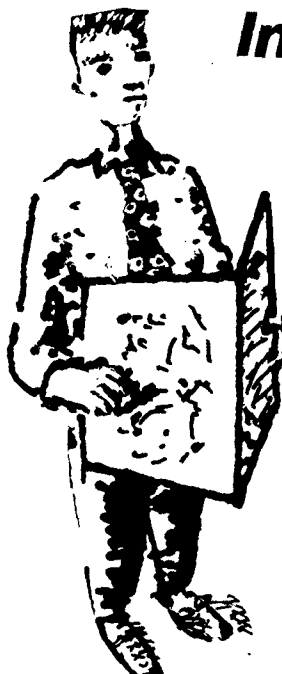
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THE REAGAN

BY
EDGAR ALLEN POOR

ONCE upon a campaign dreary, while I pondered, weak and weary,
Over many a quaint and spurious volume of political lore—
While I nodded, nearly napping, and the Feds my phone were tapping,
Came the sound of someone rapping, rapping at my chamber door.
"Tis some candidate," I muttered, "tapping at my chamber door—
Only this and nothing more."

Ah, distinctly I remember election day in bleak November;
And each separate party member wrought his boast on the congress floor.
Eagerly I wished the morrow;—vainly I had sought to borrow
Money, from my bank to borrow—money but there was no more—
For the rare and radiant cash which once we had but now no more—
Penniless here for evermore.

And milking the masses with the certain hustling of each descended pilgrim
Born free—shorn free with fantastic terrors never felt before;
So that now, to still the beating of my heart, I stood repeating,
"Tis just a candidate entreating entrance at my chamber door—
Some X-actor entreating entrance to the White House Door;
This it is and nothing more."

Presently my soul grew stronger; hesitating then no longer,
"Sir," said I, "or, Gipper, truly your forgiveness I implore;
But the fact is America's napping, and so subtly you came rapping,
And so cleverly you came tapping, rapping at my chamber door,
That I scarce was sure I heard you,"—here I opened wide the door;
Rhetoric there and nothing more.

Deep into that darkness peering, long I stood there wondering, fearing,
Doubting economic schemes no mortal ever dared to dream before;
But the poverty was unbroken, and the promises only token,
And the only word there spoken was the whispered word, "the Poor?"
This I whispered and an echo murmured back the word, "the Poor!"
Nearly broke and nothing more.

Back into the chamber turning, ignorant but quickly learning,
Soon again I heard a tapping somewhat louder than before.
"Surely," said I, "surely that is something at my window lattice;
Let me see, then, who the rat is, and this mystery explore;
Let my vote be still a moment and this mystery explore;
'Tis just wind and nothing more."

Open here I flung the shutter, when, with many a blurt and stutter,
In there stepped a cowboy, Reagan of the slavery days of yore;
Not a little obsequious played he; not a minute stopped or stayed he;
But, with mien of a lordly lady, perched above my chamber door—
Perched upon the trust of all just above my chamber door—
Perched, and sat, upon the poor.

Then this phony bird beguiling my sad fancy into smiling,
By the grave and stern decorum of the countenance it wore,
"Though thy crest is worn and sagging, thou," I said, "like Menachim Begin,
Are ghastly and grim, an extra taken wandering from the L.A. shore—
Tell me what thy cowardly game is, and the rights plutonium's for!"
Quoth the Reagan, "Peace is war."

Much I marveled this ungainly fowl to hear discourse so plainly,
Though its policy little meaning—little relevancy bore;
For we cannot help agreeing—that no intelligent human being
Ever yet was blessed with such a bird above his chamber door—
Bird or the Beast upon the people's trust above his chamber's door,
With such a name as "Peace is war."

But the Reagan, sitting lonely on the masses trust spoke only
That one word, as if his soul in that one word he did out pour.
Nothing farther then he uttered—not a feather then he fluttered—
Till I scarcely more than muttered, "Other wars were fought before—

Continued on page 23

"PEACE IS WAR"

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